Vowel Alliteration

IN THE

Old Germanic Languages

Inaugural-Dissertation
verfasst und der Hohen Philosophischen Fakultät
der Kgl. Bayer. Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg
zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde
vorgelegt am 10. *Juni* 1912

VON

ERNEST CLASSEN

AUS

MANCHESTER

MANCHESTER
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1913

UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER PUBLICATIONS

GERMANIC SERIES
No. I.

On Vowel Alliteration in the Old Germanic Languages

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/IA41549811_0050

ON VOWEL ALLITERATION

IN THE

OLD GERMANIC LANGUAGES

Inaugural-Dissertation
verfasst und der Hohen Philosophischen Fakultät
der Kgl. Bayer. Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg
zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde
vorgelegt am 10. *Juni* 1912

VON

ERNEST CLASSEN

AUS

MANCHESTER

MANCHESTER
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1913

Referent:

Professor Dr. O. L. Jiriczek.

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

PREFACE

I WISH in this place to offer my warmest thanks to Professor Johannson for the original suggestion of an enquiry into vocalic alliteration, for his constant advice in the preparation of this work, and, above all, for the stimulating instruction received from him in my student years.

I am also especially indebted to Professor Jiriczek for his friendly advice and for critical suggestions. Finally, I would wish to express my gratitude to Professor Brenner for his suggestions, and to Professors Noreen and Brate and Mr. Bürgel-Goodwin for their help with certain Old Norse etymologies.

E. CLASSEN.

THE UNIVERSITY, MANCHESTER,
May, 1913.

CONTENTS

PAGE

Preface - - - - - - v

List of works consulted - - - - ix

List of abbreviations - - - - - xiii

Introduction - - - - - - 1

PART I.

The Glottal-catch Theory - - - - 13

The Sonority Theory - - - - - 19

The Theory of Identical Vowels - - 21

PART II.

Investigation of minor monuments and comparison with Celtic, Finnish and Latin Alliteration - 39

Investigation of Bēowulf - - - - 46

„ „ the Hêliand - - - - 65

„ „ Vφ'lundarkviþa - - - 71

„ „ Hyndluljóþ - - - 74

„ „ Þrymskviþa - - - 78

„ „ Hymiskviþa - - - 81

Statistical Summary - - - - - 84

Index - - - - - - - 89

LIST OF WORKS CONSULTED.

Åʟund, E. "Runorna i Norden." Stockholm, 1904.

Brate, E. "Svenska Runverser." Stockholm, 1901.

Brenner, O. "Zur Verteilung der Reimstäbe in der alliterierenden Langzeile." *P.B.B.*, 19, 462.

Bugge, S. "Norges Indskrifter." Christiania, 1891—1903.

Bülbring, K. "Altenglisches Elementarbuch." Heidelberg, 1902.

Gering, H. "Altnordisch V." *Z. f. d. Ph.* xlii, 233.

Gering, H. "Altnordisch V." *P.B.B.* 12, 202

Heyne, M. "Hêliand." Paderborn, 1905.

Hildebrand, R. "Zum Wesen des Reims auch des Stabreims." *Z. f. d. d. Unt.* v, 577.

Hildebrand, K.—Gering. "Die Lieder der älteren Edda." Paderborn, 1904.

Holthausen, F. "Altsächsisches Elementarbuch." Heidelberg, 1900.

Holthausen, F. "Bēowulf." Heidelberg, 1908.

Horn, C. R. "Zur Metrik des Hêliand." *P.B.B.* 5.

Huemer, C. "Untersuchungen über die ältesten lateinisch-christlichen Rhythmen." Wien, 1879.

Jespersen, O. "Lehrbuch der Phonetik." Leipzig, 1904.

Jiriczek, O. Review of Kock, Ax. "Östnord. o. Lat. Medeltidsordsprȧk." *Z. f. d. Ph.* xxviii, 545.

Johannson, A. "Phonetics of the New High German Language." Manchester, 1906.

Kahle, B. "Altisländisches Elementarbuch." Heidelberg, 1900.

Kaluza, M. "Hist. Grammatik der englischen Sprache." Berlin, 1906.

Kaluza, M. "Englische Metrik." Berlin, 1909.

Kastner, L. E. "History of French Versification." Oxford, 1903.

Kauffmann, Fr. "Die Rhythmik des Hêliand." *P.B.B.* 12.

KAUFFMANN, Fr. "Deutsche Metrik." 1 Auflage., Marburg, 1897.

KAUFFMANN, Fr. "Deutsche Metrik." 2 Auflage., Marburg, 1907.

KOCK, AX. " Östnordiska och Latinska Medeltidsordsprak." Kjøbenhavn, 1889-94.

LAWRENCE, J. " Chapters on alliterative verse." London, 1893.

LOCH. " De usu alliterationis apud Poetas Latinos." Halle, 1865.

LOTH, J. " La métrique galloise." Paris, 1902.

MEYER, CH. A. " Vokalische Alliteration im Hêliand." *Z. f. d. A.* 47, 413.

MEYER, KUNO. " A Primer of Irish Metrics." Dublin, 1909.

MEYER, R. M. " Alliterierende Doppelkonsonanz im Hêliand." *Z. f. d. Ph.* xxvi, 149.

MIGNE, J. P. "Patrologiæ cursus completus, Aldhelm," Vol. 89. Paris, 1863.

MOGK, E. " Die Halbvokale i und u in der isländischen Literatursprache." *Idg. F.* 26, 209.

NESFIELD, J. C. " Aids to the study and composition of English." London, 1907.

NOREEN, A. " Altisländische und altnorwegische Grammatik." Halle, 1903.

NOREEN, A. " Altschwedische Grammatik." Halle, 1904.

PAUL, A. " Über vokalische Aspiration und reinen Vokaleinsatz." Hamburg, 1888.

PAUL, H. " Grundriss der germanischen Philologie. 2 Aufl. Strassburg, 1901.

RIEGER, M. " Altsächsische und angelsächsische Verskunst." *Z. f. d. Ph.* xxviii, 545.

SCHIPPER, J. " Grundriss der englischen Metrik." Wien, 1895.

SIEVERS, E. "Grundzüge der Phonetik." 5 Aufl., Leipzig, 1901.

SIEVERS, E. "Angelsächsische Grammatik." 3 Aufl., Halle, 1898.

SIEVERS, E. "Altgermanische Metrik." Halle, 1893.

SIEVERS, E. " Zur Rhythmik des germanischen Alliterationsverses." *P.B.B.* 10, 12, 13.

STEPHENS, H. "Handbook of Old Northern Runic Monuments." London, 1884.

STREITBERG, W. " Urgermanische Grammatik." Heidelberg, 1896.

Sweet, H. "A Primer of Phonetics." Oxford, 1902.

Sweet, H. "History of English Sounds." Oxford, 1888.

Trautmann, M. "Die Sprachlaute," etc. Leipzig, 1884-6.

Viëtor, W. "Kleine Phonetik." Leipzig, 1905.

Viëtor, W. "Elemente der Phonetik." 4 Aufl., Leipzig, 1904.

Viëtor, W. "Die northumbrischen Runensteine." Marburg 1895.

Westphal, R. "Allgemeine Metrik der indogermanischen Völker." Berlin, 1892.

Wilmans, W. "Deutsche Grammatik." Strassburg, 1897.

Wimmer, L. "De danske Runemindesmærker." Kjøbenhavn, 1893-08.

Windisch. "Beiträge zur irischen Metrik." *Ber. d. K. Sächs. Ges. d. W.*, 1884.

Wright, J. "Old English Grammar." Oxford, 1908.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

Agm. Metr. Altgermanische Metrik.
Ags. Gr. Angelsächsische Grammatik.
Aisl. Gr. Altisländische Grammatik.
Ber. d. K. Sächs. Ges. d. W. Berichte der Königlichen Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
C. Consonant.
E. St. Englische Studien.
Idg. Indogermanic.
Idg. F. Indogermanische Forschungen.
M.E. Middle English.
O.E. Old English.
O.N. Old Norse.
P.B.B. Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Litteratur, hsg. von Paul und Braune.
P.G. Primitive Germanic.
Skt. Sanskrit.
V. Vowel.
W.G. West Germanic.
Z. f. d. A. Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Litteratur.
Z. f. d. Ph. Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie.
Z. f. d. d. U. Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht.

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION.

The feature of Old Germanic poetry which most clearly distinguishes it from the poetry of the modern Germanic languages—its alliterative technique—has already been described and elucidated with considerable fulness and thoroughness. On one side, at least, little has been left to be done; for the rhythmic laws on which it is based have been discovered, and tally adequately with the facts. Also on the other side, on that of the technique of alliteration, most of the principles have been ascertained, and laws governing the position of the alliterating words, the relative capacity of different parts of speech for bearing the stress, etc., etc., have been set up. Only on one point, that of the remarkable practice of alliterating different vowels freely with each other, does there still remain considerable doubt as to what was the actual underlying principle of alliteration. This is the more remarkable since the practice of consonant alliteration clearly shows that identity of sound is what really constitutes the binding element of alliteration.

In this necessity for the recurrence of identical sounds in order to bind together the parts of a line, alliteration makes use of the same instrument as does rime, and like it, demands, at least so far as consonant alliteration is concerned, the recurrence of identical sounds.

How comes it, then, that in this respect vowel alliteration differs fundamentally from consonant alliteration? How comes it that vowel alliteration stands in point of metrical technique quite by itself and without parallel? The discrepancy of treatment of vowels and consonants in alliterative technique becomes even more remarkable when we consider the people for whom alliterative poetry was

composed. Were our Germanic ancestors conscious of the distinction between vowels and consonants at all? Are we to assume that they were sufficiently possessed of the phonetic consciousness to make a classification of vowels and consonants, and after having made the classification, to build up one system of alliteration upon the consonant class and imposing phonetic identity as the law, whilst building up another system upon the vowel class with phonetic dissimilarity as the rule, or, at any rate, general practice? To a modern ear, accustomed to the rhythm of blank verse, a metrical line containing vowel alliteration of dissimilar vowels may be quite satisfactory, though in all probability if such a line occurred only once in twenty lines, the element of vowel alliteration would escape notice entirely.

From the foregoing we are brought back to the original question—how can we account for the existence side by side of two radically different systems of alliteration? We turn first of all to the authorities, to see what they have to say on this point. The oldest, the most widespread explanation, and one which is still widely held to-day, is that the glottal catch constituted the identical element of vowel alliteration. Thus Kaluza in his *Englische Metrik* (1909) says (p. 113): "Alle Vokale können nach belieben miteinander alliterieren, und es scheint sogar, als ob die Verwendung desselben Vokals in einer Langzeile absichtlich vermieden und der Wechsel verschiedener Vokale gesucht wurde . . . . . Der Grund warum alle Vokale promiscue alliterieren dürfen, ist der, dass nicht der Vokallaut selbst das eigentlich gleichklingende Element ist, sondern der im Altengl. wie im Neuhochd. jedem in Wortanlaut stehenden Vokal varausgehende Kehlkopfverschlusslaut oder *spiritus lenis*, so dass auch hier eigentlich consonantische Alliteration vorliegt." An equally explicit statement is that of A. Johannson (*Phonetics of the New High German Language*, 28, Note 1), " ʔ, which corresponds to the Hebrew aleph

. . . . . has existed in Anglo-Saxon as can be proved from the treatment of the vowels at the beginning of a word in the Old Teutonic poetry, where to all appearance any vowel can alliterate with any other vowel, *but in reality the alliteration is formed by the preceding glottal stop.*" Also Sievers in his *Agm. Metrik* (1893) § 18, 2, gave the same explanation, which, however, he later abandoned, cf. below, p. 13. In effect, this theory amounts to the denial of the existence of any such thing as vowel alliteration in Old Germanic poetry, and sets up in its place an additional consonant which, though spoken, was not represented by a written symbol.

The interest of this glottal stop theory of alliteration is twofold. It arises, of course, from the difficulty of believing that our Germanic ancestors should have practised two totally different systems of alliteration side by side: one with phonetic identity, and the other with phonetic contrariety, as its principle. It was felt by those who put forward this theory that the alliteration of dissimilar vowels would not satisfy the ear either in Old Germanic times, or even to-day; whereas, on the other hand, the alliteration of phonetically identical consonants was felt to be a natural, normal and sufficiently striking phenomenon to be utilised as a metrical aid. From this recognition of the difficulties involved in accepting a principle of alliteration based on the combination of phonetically dissimilar sounds arises the second interest of the glottal stop theory, *i.e.*, that it affords an explanation which, if it could be proved, would satisfactorily account for the apparently different treatment of vowels and consonants in Old Germanic metrical technique.

The glottal catch theory, put forward as early as 1836, by Rapp, who saw in the *spiritus lenis* the real alliterating element in vowel alliteration, has not been without rivals in the field. In a review of Kock's *Östnordiska och latinska Medeltidsordspråk* (*Z.f.d.Ph.*, xxviii, 545, 1895), Jiriczek puts forward the view that it is the peculiar

sonority of vowels which bound them together in alliteration. He says: —

"Aber dass der brauch, ungleiche vokale alliterieren zu lassen, erst secundär auf dem von Kock angedeuteten wege aufgekommen wäre, scheint mir ganz ausgeschlossen. Die erklärung, weshalb man bei konsonanten vollständige gleichheit verlangte, bei vokalen aber nicht, liegt in ganz anderer richtung. Berücksichtigt man, dass bei konsonanten als geräuschlauten schon infolge der artikulation der akustische effekt geringer ist als bei reinen stimmlauten (vokalen) und dass ihr akustischer effekt durch die stellung vor dem accent hinter dem akustischen effekt accentuierter anlautvokale—und dass der germanische feste accent voraussetzung der alliteration ist, ist naturnotwendig und allgemein anerkannt—bedeutend zurückstehen musste, so scheint hierin die begründung zu liegen, weshalb man bei konsonanten (zu denen in diesem zusammenhange wegen der stellung vor dem accent nasale und liquide zu rechnen sind, wie der usus beweist) völligen gleichklang braucht, ja sogar diesen gerne auf doppelkonsonanz ausdehnt (s. R. M. Meyer, *Z.f.d.Ph.*, xxvi, 149 fgg.), während bei vokalen ihr gemeinsamer charakter als reine stimmlaute, deren stimmfülle im vorgetragenen alliterierenden verse durch den auf sie fallenden accent noch eindringlicher hervortrat, das gleichmachende moment gewesen sein dürfte (das auch heute von jedem musikalischen ohre beim vortrag alliterierender verse als gleichheit empfunden wird), dem gegenüber die durch die verschiedene resonatorische einwirkung des mundraumes bedingte verschiedenheit der einzelnen vokale unter einander nicht ins gewicht fiel, im gegenteil sogar beliebt gewesen zu sein scheint. Dass der gebrauch der alliteration bzw. der ungleichen vokalalliteration zu den Germanen von auswärts gekommen sein sollte, muss bis zur erbringung eines beweises ganz aus dem spiele bleiben und das problem zunächst auf germanischem boden ausgetragen werden. Und da stösst die hypothese Kocks zunächst principiell

auf die schwierigkeit, dass, wenn dem ohre der Germanen nur völlig gleiche vokale als alliteration klangen, es ganz unbegreiflich ist, wieso die zersprengung alter reimender verbindungen durch die veränderung des anlautvokales in einem worte sie bewogen haben sollte, nunmehr verschiedene vokale als alliterierend zu empfinden. Die auffassung des ohres kann doch durch den sprachhistorischen vorgang nicht eine andere geworden sein! Entweder, das ohr unserer vorväter fühlte, wie Kock annimmt, nur *a* : *a* als alliteration, *a* : *e* aber nicht—dann erklären aber die veränderungen der sprache nicht, wieso man laute, die einander 'nicht mehr ähnlich' sind als *k* und *g*, dennoch als alliteration gefühlt hätte und sogar auf die vernichtung der alten regel ein neues gesetz baute; wie konnte man das, wenn das ohr die alliteration, zu der 'in der eigenen natur der laute nicht der geringste grund' war, nicht vernahm? Oder, ungleiche vokale wurden als alliteration empfunden, dann ist zur sprachhistorischen erklärung kein grund vorhanden. Und ferner müsste man denn doch erwarten, dass die alte regel, nur gleiche vokale alliterieren zu lassen, ihren reflex noch in den denkmälern finden sollte; aber schon zu Tacitus zeiten, also in einer periode, wo die allermeisten der später im germanischen wirksamen vokalveränderungen noch nicht eingetreten sind, alliterieren ungleiche vokale: *Ingvæones* (mit älterem *e*) und *(H)erminones* mit *Istvæones* (*i* bzw. *ī*), und in dem erhaltenen poetischen belegmaterial ist oder scheint gerade regel, ungleiche vokale vor identischen zu bevorzügen und bei identischen die gleichheit durch verschiedenheit der unmittelbar folgenden konsonanten einzuschränken (s. R. Hildebrand, *Ztschr. f. d. deutschen Unterricht*, 5, 577 fgg.). Völliger gleichklang, wie er bei gleichen accentuierten anlautvokalen am schärfsten hervortreten musste, scheint eben, wie Hildebrand hervorhebt, als unschön empfunden worden zu sein; bei konsonanten war er schon dadurch gemildert, dass er durch den erst folgenden accent an und für sich nicht so stark hervor-

trat, zumal auch hier verschiedenheit des folgenden vokals beliebt gewesen zu sein scheint. Man hat bis vor kurzem die betrachtung der alliteration viel zu einseitig und mechanisch auf den anlaut des wortes beschränkt und darüber die rolle der folgenden laute und die bedeutung des accentes zu wenig beachtet. Sind auch die denkmäler der alliterationspoesie jünger als die zeit, auf die Kocks hypothese allenfalls sich zurückziehen kann, so würde doch eine genaue durchforschung des materials die sich auf statistische Tabellen stützen müsste—denn nur die verhältniszahlen, nicht die absoluten zahlen der einzelnen erscheinung, geben den ausschlag—unzweifelhaft licht auf diese frage werfen, und zwar, soweit man schon jetzt urteilen kann, nicht im sinne der Kock'schen hypothese."

Two years later the view that vowel alliteration depends on the sonority of the vowels was put forward independently, though without any detailed argumentation by Kauffmann (*Deutsche Metrik*, § 14, Marburg, 1897), who says:—"Die vokale und diphthonge alliterieren ohne unterschied mit einander. Rapp (*Physiol. d. Sprache*, i, 214, 1836), hat zuerst als grund dieser erscheinung auf den jedem vokal vorangehenden spiritus lenis verwiesen, so dass dieser consonant, nicht der vokal alliterierte, aber die existenz der spiritus lenis ist nicht erwiesen und die den vokalen eigene klangfülle reicht zur erklärung aus." This view has been adopted by Saran (*Deutsche Verslehre*, 1907), who refers to Kauffmann.

Both the theories already mentioned agree in one point, or rather, one ought perhaps to say, both have a common starting point, namely, the recognition that complete dissimilarity of alliterating vowels is not admissible as a principle of alliteration; that in fact such dissimilarity is as much a negation of principle as the combination of dissimilar consonants would be. That is to say, vowel alliteration is not alliteration at all. The theories only differ in the identical element which they would add to the chaos of vowel alliteration in order to make it into

cosmos. In the one case it is the glottal catch, in the other the sonority of vowels. In either case it is not the vowel at all which alliterates, but something else, and, therefore, it makes no difference which vowels apparently alliterated. It is as if one were to lay down or deduce rules according to which, say, *ka-*, *ra-*, *pa-*, *ma-*, alliterated with *ko-*, *ro-*, *po-*, *mo-*. Obviously it does not matter what vowel follows the consonant, nor does it matter which vowel follows the glottal catch. The same criticism applies, *mutatis mutandis*, if we accept the sonority theory. Then we must assume that the common element is the "voice." The particular modifications of the sounds in the mouth and nose have, therefore, nothing to do with the alliteration. It is, however, just these particular modifications which constitute the different vowels, and so we must again conclude that on the sonority theory, as on the glottal catch theory, the quality of the so-called alliterating vowels may be disregarded entirely. If it is indeed the sonority of vowels which constitutes the alliteration, then the purpose and effect of alliteration is achieved equally well either by the use of identical or of different vowels. Hildebrand (*Z. f. d. d. U.*, v, 577) thought he could discover a tendency in the poetry in question to select different vowels, and to avoid rather than to seek identical vowels. The text-books on metrics of Sievers and Kauffmann formulate this tendency as a rule. Thus Kauffmann, *l.c.*, says: "der wechsel verschiedener vokale gilt als regel; nicht die wiederholung eines und desselben vokals." That this rule requires modification will appear from the following pages; but in any case it does not touch the question of the principle of identity in vowel alliteration.

To the two theories already mentioned a third and last may now be added. This theory proceeds, like the other two, from an inability to accept dissimilarity in vowel alliteration as satisfactory. Like the other two theories, it endeavours to put vowel alliteration on the same footing

as consonant alliteration by establishing identity of sound as the underlying principle. This third theory was first propounded, so far as I know, by Axel Kock, and the passage containing it is here quoted *in extenso* : —

" Since identical consonants are required in consonant alliteration, it is unintelligible why identical vowels should not be necessary in vowel alliteration. The usual attempt to explain this state of affairs is by no means satisfactory. It is usually supposed that the identity in vowel alliteration is limited to the glottal catch. But is it really conceivable that this acoustically extremely slight difference of pronunciation should constitute an essential metrical factor? We must bear in mind that the glottal catch is so extremely faint that it has never been observed except by an ear specially trained in phonetics. Are we then to suppose that our forefathers were such fine observers, not only of the sounds of speech, but also of the modifications of them, that they far surpassed in this respect the public of our own day? And even if they did observe these slight modifications of pronunciation, could they, by means of such, have composed lines which were often recited to large audiences who, at any rate as regards that section which was some distance away from the speaker, could by no possibility catch such alliteration? Moreover, how do we know that our Germanic forefathers had the glottal catch at all? The English have not got it to this day, so that it is extremely doubtful whether it is original in the Germanic languages.

" But if it is not the glottal catch which constitutes the identity between, *e.g.*, *a-* and *e-*, in what respect do these sounds resemble one another more than two different consonants, *e.g.*, *k-* and *g-* do? We may safely answer: They do not resemble one another more. But then there is no reason whatever, in the nature of the sounds, why one should be permitted to alliterate, for example, *allr* : *endi*, but not *koma* : *ganga*.

"The problem may be best solved historically. The original practice was surely to alliterate only words with *a-* with words with *a-*, words with *e-* with words with *e-*, etc., just as words with *g-* alliterated only with words with *g-*, etc. But vowels have, owing to the operation of numerous sound-laws, undergone far more changes than consonants, or, more correctly, a vowel as initial sound has been differentiated into different sounds, in consequence of the working of different sound-laws, far more often than has been the case with initial consonants. The consequence of this was that in already existing poems initial vowels which were once identical became different, whilst initial consonants remained unchanged. Assuming that the custom of alliterating different vowels arose in the Germanic languages, then, for example, the later Norse *allr* : *endi* will have been found in the alliteration at one time of the initial sound *a-;* cf. Gothic *alls* : *andeis*. Since, meanwhile, *a-* was *i-* mutated to *e-* in *endi*, these words were still permitted, since they were to be found alliterating in an old poem, composed before the operation of *i-* mutation, *i.e.*, *allr* : *endi* alliterated. In this way arose the custom of alliterating different vowels in new poems also."—Axel Kock, (*Östnordiska och Latinska Medeltidsordsprak*, i, 113, Kjφbenhavn 1889–94.)

The above view is also supported by Jespersen (*Phonetik*, § 76, Anm. 2):—

"Man hat seine Existenz in den altgermanischen Sprachen (althochdeutsch, altenglisch, altnordisch) aus dem Umstand erschlieszen wollen, dasz in den alliterierenden Versen Worte, die mit verschiedenen Vokalen anfangen, auf dieselbe Weise gebunden werden wie Worte, die mit demselben Konsonanten beginnen, z. B. altengl: *unriht æfnde, op pæt ende becwom*; altnord. *þá vas mér ótti einu sinni.* Man schlosz: es musz etwas Gemeinsames da sein; aber spräche man die Vokale im Anlaut ohne diesen ungeschriebenen Kehlverschlusz aus, so würde kein Gemeinschaftliches da sein, also müssen die alten

Germanen ɛO gehabt haben. Ja, Lawrence hat sogar aus dem Gegensatz zwischen altenglischen Versen, wo solche ungleiche Vokale Alliteration bilden, und dem späten mittel-englisch, wo in alliterierenden Zeilen im wesenlichen nur die gleichen Vokale gebunden werden, den Zeitpunkt bestimmen wollen, wo die Engländer in dieser Beziehung ihre Aussprache änderten. Das ganze ist jedoch ungemein zweifelhaft, und es ist sicher Grund vorhanden, sich an die von Ax. Kock (*Östnordiska och latinska medeltidsordspråk*, 1, 113 f.) gegebene sprachhistorische Erklärung zu halten: ursprünglich alliterierden nur dieselben Vokale, aber da die Vokale, durch Umlaut, Brechung und dergl. im Laufe der Zeit sich sehr änderten, wurde man in den durch Tradition bewahrten alten Versen daran gewöhnt, ungleiche Vokale gebunden zu hören und übernahm diesen Brauch für Neudichtungen; die Anlautskonsonanten waren dagegen stabiler."

There are, therefore, three theories, all of which aim at establishing phonetic identity of the initial alliterating sound in the place of the phonetic vowel dissimilarity of the texts; and all of which pursue different paths to this end.

It is the purpose of this work to collect the available evidence for the last of these three theories and to discuss the evidence which can be adduced for and against the other two.

PART I.

PART I.

The Glottal-Catch Theory.

The view that it is the glottal-catch which constitutes the binding element in vowel alliteration is one which in itself would afford a satisfactory solution of the problem. But the statement of the theory is only a statement, and has not been supported by any kind of evidence as to the existence of the glottal catch in the old Germanic languages. The only evidence adduced so far in its favour is the very assumption that it was a necessary element in vowel alliteration, a *circulus vitiosus*! Or, it is said, the glottal catch exists in modern German and modern Danish, and this glottal catch is merely the old one preserved, whilst in Swedish, Dutch and English it has been lost, either partially or totally. But here again we have the same assumption that the glottal catch existed in the Old Germanic languages, and there is no kind of evidence to support the assumption. Sievers, who had formerly assented to the glottal catch theory (*Altgermanische Metrik*, 1893, § 18), later on gave up this explanation, as he had come to the result (*Phonetik*, § 386, 5 Aufl. 1901) that: "in den indogermanischen Sprachen scheint er (der Kehlkopfexplosivlaut) ziemlich modern zu sein, nach den Kriterien zu schliessen, die bei so vielen Sprachen gegen seine Anwendung sprechen (Elisionen und Contractionen von Nachbarvokalen, sowie das Herüberziehen wortauslautender Consonanten zum Vokalischen Anlaut des Folgeworts, die sogenannte Liaison)."

The glottal-catch theory is in the happy position that it cannot, with our available evidence, be disproved. That the glottal-catch may have existed in the old Germanic

languages cannot be positively disproved, though the tests referred to by Sievers speak strongly against the probability of its existence. But even assuming for the moment that it did exist, it is still permissible to ask whether it was of such a nature as to be able to form the necessary alliterating sound. Was the supposed glottal-catch such a clear and distinct sound; had it such distinctive character and force that it could be heard and appreciated as a distinct and separate sound, just like any other consonant? The answer to these questions must depend very much upon the force with which the glottal catch was uttered. The exaggerated form of glottal-catch which we hear in a cough is certainly such a distinct and characteristic sound as would be necessary for alliteration; but on the other hand it may well be questioned whether the very faint glottal-catch heard in some parts of England to-day could be considered to have the force and clearness of an independent sound. There, it is so evidently subordinate to, and swallowed up by, the following sound that it is scarcely conceivable that it should be used as a binding element in alliteration.

Perhaps the most serious objection to the glottal-catch theory is that no symbol should have been devised to represent it, when the time came for writing down poetry. It may be urged against this objection that, in Anglo-Saxon, for example, the symbol ȝ represented different sounds, or, in other words, that there were other sounds which had no separate symbol. Or it may be said that vowel length was not indicated and that yet in all such cases there existed differences of sound, of which all were conscious. This may at once be admitted, but in all these cases the particular sound *had* a symbol. It may not have been, phonetically speaking, a satisfactory symbol, but still it was a symbol and represented a known sound. In the case of the glottal-catch, on the contrary, there was *no* symbol, so that the two phenomena cannot be compared. Is it possible that, with the example of consonant allitera-

tion before him, the scribe, knowing of the existence of the glottal-catch, was yet content to allow the real binding element of alliteration to be omitted in writing? It scarcely seems credible. For this case is not the same as in our modern languages, where the glottal-catch is also pronounced, though not written. In modern German a person may pronounce the glottal-catch and not write it, as in most cases the speaker is not conscious of speaking such a sound and is not a little surprised when he hears of its existence. But when we come to regard the glottal-catch as the binding element in alliteration we are dealing with quite a different phenomenon. Here we have a sound raised to such prominence that everybody is fully conscious of it, and hears it as distinctly as he does a *b* or *m*. Why then was it not written? What conceivable reason can there have been for not inventing a symbol to represent a sound which everybody heard so distinctly, which was an essential sound of the language, and which entered so largely into alliterative technique?

In Hebrew and Arabic the glottal-catch is represented by a symbol because everybody is conscious of it as an independent sound. This is further evidenced by its behaviour. It can geminate, it can appear and disappear, be put in where it does not belong and be omitted where it does belong and always be faithfully represented in writing; it can influence vowels, etc., etc. Here is evidently a phenomenon different from that of the glottal-catch of modern German and English. For in modern German, although the glottal-catch is spoken, and although it has no symbol, yet there is the difference that it is not brought into great prominence by being made an essential element of metrical technique. It is, indeed, just this prominence of the glottal-catch and the universal consciousness of it, which the glottal-catch theory presupposes, which makes one expect a written symbol for it. It may, of course, be objected that the Latin alphabet contained no symbol, but this is not a

sufficient objection. Must the possibility of invention necessarily be excluded?

There is, however, some more direct evidence on the question of the existence of the glottal-catch as an alliterating sound. It is not pretended by those scholars who support the glottal-catch theory, that the glottal-catch also preceded consonants. And yet there are cases in which a vowel alliterates with a semi-vowel or consonant. In Old Norse there are cases of alliteration of vowel and *w-* and in Anglo-Saxon there are cases of alliteration of vowel and *h-*, and in Old Saxon the same phenomenon appears. Rieger has suggested that (in the case of *h-*) there is alliteration of the *spiritus lenis* with the *spiritus asper*. There would seem, however, to be sufficient ground for rejecting Rieger's view, in so far as such alliteration is exceptionally rare.

The appearance of initial *w-* in Old Norse alliterating with vowels, as also the alliteration of *j-* with vowels, introduces a more complicated question. With regard to both of these cases Sievers (*Agm. Metr.*, §18, 2, Anm.) assumes non-syllabic function for the time of the manuscripts, but explains the alliteration by tracing the respective words to a period when the initial *w-* or *j-* was syllabic. If we assume, with Sievers, that these sounds were consonants at the period of the manuscripts, it would seem that neither the glottal-catch nor the vocalic sonority can have been the binding element of alliteration in Old Norse at that period. Gering (*P.B.B.*, xiii, 102), however, is of the opinion that both initial *j-* and initial *v-* were syllabic, or semi-vowels even at the time of the writing of the manuscripts. Mogk (*Idg. F.*, 26, 209) agrees with Gering as regards initial *j-*, but disagrees with him as regards initial *v-*. He points out that, since P.G. *i̯-* was lost in O.N. in the initial position, the initial *j-* of O.N. is always either the first element of a P.G. diphthong, or else a broken *ë;* and is a vowel, as is shown by its frequent alliteration with a vowel. On the other hand P.G. *u̯-* is

preserved in O.N. and is a consonant, as is shown by the fact that it very rarely alliterates with a vowel. To this Gering replies (*Z. f. d. Ph.*, xlii, 233) that P.G. *u̯*- remained a semi-vowel in O.N. and alliterated with vowels. In order to account for the rarity of such alliteration he makes a suggestion which is not in itself improbable, and which will be taken into account later in developing Kock's hypothesis. Gering's suggestion is that at the time of the composition of the poems of the Edda *u̯* was syllabic in function and alliterated with vowels, but at the time of the manuscripts *u̯* had become a bilabial or labio-dental spirant (*v*); so that when the time came for committing the poems of the Edda to writing, there would be a number of lines with the alliteration *v*: *Vowel*, that is, lines with no alliteration at all. To remedy this, new words were substituted for the old ones in *v*-, in order to restore the alliteration. It is beyond the purpose of this investigation to weigh these explanations against each other. Here the chief interest of the discussion is that the very existence of alliteration between syllabic vowel and non-syllabic vowel necessarily excludes the glottal-catch theory.

R. Hildebrand (*Z. f. d. d. Unt.*, v, 577), whilst supporting the glottal-catch theory, further elaborates it by a comparison with the technique of rime. He starts from the assumption that the best rime is that which contains one element of identity, and one element of difference. In alliterative technique Hildebrand finds these necessary conditions of artistic perfection in the alliteration of the glottal-catch as identical element, combined with different vowels. That there are, however, a relatively large number of identical alliterations, in spite of Hildebrand's theory, is shown by a glance at *Bēowulf* or the *Hêliand*. In *Bēowulf* 36 per cent. of the lines with vowel alliteration contain identical vowels, and according to Ch. A. Meyer (*Z. f. d. A.*, 47, 413) the percentage in the *Hêliand* is 25·6 per cent., or disregarding differences of quantity,

31·5 per cent., from which he (Meyer) assumes an effort to secure the alliteration of identical vowels, an effort which is rendered unsuccessful by the scarcity of words with initial vowel. The explanation of the predominance of the alliteration of different vowels is thus, according to Ch. A. Meyer, to be found in the impossibility of carrying out the principle of identity, owing to the fact that language afforded too little material. Nor is Hildebrand's theory supported by the facts of consonant alliteration, for here, as R. M. Meyer (*Z. f. d. Ph.*, xxvi, 149) points out, there exists a strong tendency to the alliteration of double consonants and of *consonant + vowel*, a tendency which is again seen at work in the alliteration of *sp-*, *st-*, *sk-*, with themselves, where the requirement of identity appears to be emphasised. (A possible explanation of the alliteration of *sp-*, etc., may perhaps be found in the fact that in the combination *S + explosive* the articulation of the *s* is prematurely cut off for the formation of the explosive, which latter tends to overshadow the *s* and to reduce its normal length.)

The view that the best rime is that which contains both identical and different elements need not be contested, though one might point out that among French poets, Hugo and most of the Romanticists consistently used *rime riche*, and de Banville even held that rime without the *consonne d'appuie* was not rime at all. So also in Celtic poetry where alliteration in a highly elaborated form is an essential part of the technique, there is frequent alliteration of initial vowel and the succeeding consonant or *vice versa*, and in every case the vowels alliterating are identical. But even if we start from the common conception of rime, there is, of course, no analogy at all between a rime and a pair of alliterating words, so that no inference can be drawn from the technique of rime for that of alliteration.

The Sonority Theory.

The second theory mentioned in the introduction suggests as an explanation of the different treatment of vowels and consonants in Old Germanic poetry that the sonority or *Klangfülle* common to all vowels was the binding element of the alliteration.

From one point of view this theory would appear to accord with the facts of the case, and at any rate it does not make any assumptions which it is not possible to test and examine. Here we are at least sure that there was such a thing as vowel sonority, whereas we are not sure that there ever was any glottal-catch.

The theory which finds in the peculiar acoustic qualities of vowels the binding element of alliteration is based upon the classification of sounds into vowels and consonants, a classification by which vowels are grouped together owing to their possessing pure voice. Jiriczek, who develops this theory in a criticism of the above quoted passage from Kock, supports it upon the statement of Hildebrand that alliteration of identical vowels was felt to be displeasing. He differs from Hildebrand, however, in that he finds the desired identical element in vowel alliteration in the sonority of vowels, and thus sees in the vowels themselves both the identical and the different element. Jiriczek further points out that that which is displeasing in the alliteration of identical vowels is not displeasing in the alliteration of identical consonants, because the consonants precede the stress, whereas the vowels bear the stress. Against this latter view it may be urged that if our Germanic ancestors found it displeasing to hear a too emphatic recurrence of a sound (as for example in the recurrence of identical stressed vowels) we might also expect them to have avoided the alliteration of consonant groups such as *sp-* or *br-;* for the alliteration of such groups might be, especially in r and l groups, by the cumulative effect, just as emphatic as is the alliteration of identical stressed vowels.

Jiriczek's other objection to Kock's theory is: If identity was the principle of vowel alliteration, the mere change of initial vowels would not have broken it down, for, the principle still being active, nothing but identity would be found satisfactory in new poems. This objection would be perfectly valid if sound changes had taken place rapidly. But since the changes in question were slow, and operated in poems transmitted by word of mouth, it follows that these changes effected an alteration in the conception of vowel alliteration, effected this alteration by reason of the presence of changed vowels in all that body of poetry which was as old as the sound changes in question. It may well be that for a time substitutions were made in order to restore the principle of identity, (substitutions such as Gering assumes for O. Norse *v-*), but in the long run, with the constant changes in initial vowels, the principle of identity would slowly weaken and disappear.[1]

But the sonority theory presents further difficulties. It is based upon the assumption that, quite apart from any phonetic analysis, vowels as a group strike the hearer as having something in common, over and above their difference in quality, whereas consonants have not. In other words, it assumes that to the ordinary person *i* and *a* do, by virtue of something common to them, appear to resemble each other more than, say, *b* and *p*. It is not to the point to object that *i* and *a* both have pure voice, whereas *b* and *p* are not both voiced consonants. The only question from the point of view of the sonority theory is whether to a non-phonetically trained hearer *a* and *i* resemble each other more than *b* and *p*.

At bottom the sonority theory is based upon the similarity of acoustic effect of vowels, and in order to

1. Professor Jiriczek asks me to mention that he is now prepared to abandon this objection, but that he is still of the opinion that the acoustic qualities of the vowels are sufficient to explain their indiscriminate use in alliteration, especially when, as mentioned in his article, one takes into consideration the musical character of the oldest Germanic poetry.

avoid confusion it might be better to call it the acoustic theory and thus escape the danger of thinking too much of the phonetic abstraction *sonority*. To most people vowels do resemble each other, but it remains a resemblance. But are there not other resemblances? Are there not similar acoustic effects binding together sounds other than vowels? Is not a *b* much more closely related to a *p*, to most people, than an *i* to an *o*? That this is the case is shown by the fact that nobody confuses *i* and *o*, though many people confuse *b* and *p*, and cannot distinguish them. The main point is the resemblance and not *whether* the resemblance consists of pure voice or any other peculiarity of articulation.

The sonority theory further fails to account for the alliteration in O. Norse of *v-* with a vowel or of *j-* if we assume the latter to be consonantic.

The Theory of Identical Vowels.

The third theory mentioned in the introduction is that of Axel Kock, as put forward in the passage quoted. Kock's theory, stated briefly, is that exactly the same laws apply to the technique of vowel alliteration as apply to the technique of consonant alliteration. Here, as in the other two theories, the goal and the starting point are the same. Identity of some sort is demanded in vowel alliteration and phonetic dissimilarity in vowel alliterations is regarded as impossible. The main fact, that poetry, where it aims at securing the recurrence of certain sounds, aims at the recurrence of identical sounds, whether it be in rime, or consonant alliteration, is recognised in all three theories. Kock's theory claims such identity also for vowel alliteration.

The only possible way of testing Kock's theory is to trace back to their old Germanic forms the actually existing alliterative lines. Such procedure would necessarily be nothing more than an experiment for the purpose of demonstration; for, of course, the *Hêliand* did not

exist before the ninth century, nor *Bēowulf* before about 730, nor the poems of the *Edda* before 850, or later. All these works, however, contain alliterative lines, many of which doubtless show a traditional framework of greater antiquity than the poems which contain them. If, then, these historically later lines show, when traced back, a larger percentage of identical vowels, we may be justified in drawing conclusions as to the character of the older (though lost) poetry. From the nature of the experiment it is obvious that lines containing Christian names must be excluded, as they cannot be typically Germanic, and cannot be older than the year 800 in O.S. or about 650 in O.E. For this reason lines in the *Hêliand* containing Christian names or words of Christian origin, have not been included in the investigation, and the line in *Bēowulf* referring to Abel has also been omitted.

The simplest way to test the validity of Kock's theory would appear to be simply to take the existing texts of Old Germanic poetry, to collect all lines containing vowel alliteration and trace back the alliteration bearing words to the supposed period of composition and see if the result were to establish original vowel identity as the rule. But this would be too much to expect of the theory. It should be borne in mind that the Old Germanic poetry which has come down to us is certainly not the oldest. There are several centuries of Germanic poetry before *Bēowulf*, and in order to give Kock's theory a fair chance, it would be necessary to examine earlier monuments than *Bēowulf*. Hence any investigations based upon *Bēowulf* are liable to the very fruitful source of error, that *Bēowulf* itself is not a model of the original system. The system of vowel alliteration with identical vowels must have already broken down a considerable time before the composition of *Bēowulf*, since almost all sound laws affecting vowels were prior to 700.

It is therefore not to be expected that a text like *Bēowulf*, which, as an epic poem of the eighth century,

can only represent the contemporary use of alliteration, should show identity in all cases, when older forms are substituted. The most that it can do is to illustrate an earlier tendency, and only if it appears that the frequency of identical alliteration considerably increases when older forms are substituted, is one justified in considering the result as evidence in favour of Kock's hypothesis.

The text of *Bēowulf* cannot be older than 700, but there was one force making strongly for preservation of older alliterative formulas—the force of conservatism. That many of the phrases of Old Teutonic poetry were stereotyped is, indeed, well known, and is proved by the frequent occurrence of almost identical passages in poems of different ages and even of different peoples. This conservatism, which is not peculiar to Old Germanic poetry, must doubtless have done a great deal to arrest change and have helped to transmit faithfully words and phrases; though it will not have sufficed to arrest mere phonological change. If then, under the circumstances, the results of an investigation on the lines suggested by Kock do not show original identity for all cases of vowel alliteration, it will not be surprising, and the force of these results, as an argument in favour of the theory, will not be diminished, as the peculiar circumstances just referred to make it impossible to expect more than a certain percentage of identical alliterations.

The hypothesis upon which this enquiry proceeds is that originally in Old Germanic poetry only identical vowels could alliterate with one another, just in the same way as only identical consonants could alliterate with one another. From this stage of identity of alliterating vowels to the stage represented in our texts is a long jump, covering many centuries of change and development. There is, as we have seen, a pretty general consensus of opinion that the system to be found in our texts is not a complete nor even a satisfactory system, so that it is necessary to suggest the possible lines of development from

the supposed original system of identical vowel alliteration.

The forces tending to disruption in a system of vowel alliteration requiring the alliteration of identical vowels must have been both many and active. They are to be found in part in the ordinary progress of language and in part in the metrical system itself. Let us examine first of all the metrical difficulties in alliteration in general and in vowel alliteration in particular. It will be obvious to all that the technique of alliteration imposes very severe restrictions on the liberty of expression of the poet. To realize this it is only necessary to compare the technique of alliteration with the technique of rime. Rime requires the recurrence of a final group of sounds only *once* in *two* lines; alliteration requires the recurrence of the same initial sound *two* or *three* times in *one* line, sometimes in lines containing only eight syllables in all. Rime is felt to limit the freedom of expression in modern European poetry. How much more must alliteration have done so, working with a vocabulary comparatively poor—in the case of some vowels very poor—in words beginning with a vowel?

That the alleged poverty of the Old Germanic languages, especially in words with initial vowel, really exists, may be seen from an investigation of the longer epic poems. Thus in the vocabulary of the *Hêliand* there are only four words with initial *i-* capable of bearing the alliteration. It is true that for certain objects and common abstractions there are numerous synonyms, but the number of such objects or abstract ideas is limited to the names for weapons, battles, etc., and does not affect the bulk of the vocabulary.

It is indeed no wonder that, under these conditions, a large number of phrases and even half-lines should have become stereotyped and traditional, just as, for example, in modern English where a word has few possible rimes such rimes become traditional, even if they are not quite

perfect rimes. If the difficulties of composing alliterative poetry are thus great, they become even greater in the case of vowel alliteration, for except in the case of *a-*, the number of words with initial vowels is small compared with the number of words with initial consonant. In fact one might say that in some cases it would be almost impossible to construct a line with double vowel alliteration of identical vowels, without sacrificing the sense of the line. The difficulties of alliteration of identical vowels are thus obvious, and these difficulties doubtless contributed in no small degree to hasten on any relaxation of rigid rules and thus to hasten on the decay of the system.

If we add to the inherent germs of decay the sensitiveness of vowels, as compared with consonants, to phonetic change, it will not appear strange that the original hypothetical system of vowel alliteration should have broken down very soon. It may, moreover, be to no slight extent due to the technical difficulties of vowel alliteration that double alliteration is considerably rarer in it than in consonant alliteration. In *Bēowulf* double vowel alliteration occurs in from 30 per cent. to 35 per cent. of lines containing vowel alliteration, and double consonant alliteration in about 55 per cent. It is also noteworthy that, especially in Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon, the number of cases in which words with initial *i-* or *u-* or *o-* alliterate is very small indeed, and this is doubtless due to the difficulty of finding two or three words with the same initial vowel to convey the desired sense. If, on the other hand, alliteration of dissimilar vowels really was permitted it would seem strange that there are so few cases of alliteration with these difficult vowels, for rare as such words are in fact, the occurrence of them in alliteration is disproportionately rare.

Bearing these facts in mind, we can readily imagine that the system of vowel alliteration would soon be extended or broken down, and that greater liberty would be

welcomed by poets, and it is easy to suggest a possible line of development involving no violent break with the original system, but proceeding by slow and gradual steps.

This development might have been somewhat as follows: In the original strict system either two or three words might bear the alliteration; hence, if we take a normal line with consonant alliteration we get the types (in which C = any consonant, V = any vowel and x = any non-alliterating initial sound): —

1. C C|C x
2. C x|C x
3. x C|C x
4. C V|C x
5. V C|C x

Further, it is to be specially noted that, in types 4 and 5, one of the stressed syllables may have initial vowel, or, to represent the state of affairs schematically, and using small letters to indicate the *actual* initial sounds of the alliterating words, we get for consonant alliteration the types: —

b m|b x

or

b V|b x

If now we proceed in exactly the same way to consider the possibilities in vowel alliteration, it will be seen that the following types are strictly regular: *i.e.*,

a o|a x corresponding to b m|b x above

or

a C|a x corresponding to b V|b x above

in other words, just as in consonant alliteration one of the three stressed syllables (*i.e.*, one of the three possible alliteration bearing syllables) may have a *non-alliterating* consonant (*m*), or a vowel; so also in vowel alliteration one of the three syllables may have either a *non-alliterating* vowel (*o*), or a consonant. The importance of this consideration is, of course, that many lines with double vowel alliteration are only apparently double, in so far as

the third stressed syllable above referred to is not essential to the alliteration at all, any more than is *m* in the type

b m|b x.

It is only the traditional habit of looking at vowels as something in a class by themselves, as alliterating freely with one another, or as being bound together either by glottal-catch or sonority that prevents us from realising this fact and from treating vowel alliteration as we treat consonant alliteration. The possible varieties of vowel alliteration are therefore (apart from the question of the position of the alliteration in the first half line):

V V|V x = a a|a x
C V|V x = b a|a x
V C|V x = a b|a x
different V V|V x = o a|a x
V *different* V|V x = a o|a x

In other words, two identical vowels suffice for the alliteration and whether the third stressed word has initial vowel or initial consonant is quite immaterial, as we see from consonant alliteration.

Once the type

V *different* V|V x

has been reached, it is easy to see how the original system would break down. This type would doubtless be welcomed by poets and then, gradually, without any shock to the ear, the type

V V | *different* V x

would arise, and represents a complete breakdown of the system, for since the Hauptstab in this case no longer controls the alliteration, the natural consequence would be the type

a o|e x

which represents the state of affairs in our texts.

The development would therefore be,

V C (or V, or *different* V) | V x

represented by

a k (or a or o, etc.)|a x

all of which are strictly regular, then on the analogy of the type

a o|a x

we might get

a a|o x

and then

a e|o x

We have already observed that alliterative technique contained, by reason of its difficulties, the germs of development. These difficulties prepared the way for any relaxation of the original system which would permit of the alliteration of different vowels, and thus obviate what must have been a very real and ever present difficulty. We can imagine the unhappy scop working under conditions similar to those which would obtain if a modern English poet had to find rimes, once in every ten lines, for difficult words such as *dove*. Now we have already seen how the possibility of the type

a o|a x

gave the necessary relief. But there is one further feature of alliterative poetry which makes the above development still more easy and still more comprehensible. It is well known that a large number of phrases and even half-lines were traditional and stereotyped, transmitted by word of mouth. Now these phrases, probably retained because of the difficulties of composition, would be kept, even though eventual initial vowels had suffered phonetic change, and thus there would arise lines and half-lines no longer containing identical alliterating vowels. Hence these phrases might, owing to variation of types already suggested, be retained, and would fit in perfectly well with the developments we have already supposed, would even help them on, and would tend more and more to confuse the old system. It would appear, then, that different causes were at work to bring about a change of the original system of vowel alliteration, and that these forces operated just on vowel alliteration.

If we return to our hypothesis of the original identity of alliterating vowels, we see first of all a tendency to vary the system. Originally identical forms would undergo ordinary phonetic change, but the conservative tendency would keep them, though changed, in their old place in alliterative poetry, especially in the stereotyped phrases, even in their changed form, and even though they were felt no longer to constitute true alliteration. That there is nothing unusual in this may be proved over and over again by referring to the history of versification. In English alone a long list of so-called traditional rimes might be drawn up, in which a rime is retained long after it has ceased to satisfy the ear, retained sometimes deliberately in order to give an archaic effect. But whilst the old order of things was passing away, we may fairly assume that the knowledge and traditions of the old system would be preserved, especially among the class of the professional scop, and that a more or less conscious effort would always be made to keep up the traditions, just in the same way as a modern Englishman would strain his normal pronunciation in order to save the rime in such a pair of lines as:—

He cannot choose but hear
* * *
The bright-eyed mariner

where it is still possible to keep the rime, though it is nowadays a bad one; and where the expectation of a rime leads to the straining of pronunciation in order to preserve it.

In the case of *Bēowulf* or the *Hêliand*, for example, one might, whilst admitting that the composer consciously alliterates different vowels, whether in single or double alliteration, assume that the traditional technique manifests itself in a striving after the alliteration of identical vowels. Such text-identical vowels would thus constitute one portion of the evidence. This striving for identical

vowels would, in the case of *traditional* phrases, the alliterating vowels of which had changed in the course of time, also reveal itself *either* by a straining of the pronunciation in order to preserve the alliteration, in which case the alliterating words would be preserved in later manuscripts and would reveal identity of initial vowel when traced back, *or* by the substitution of a new word in order to restore alliteration, and in this case, though a text would show identical vowels, the latter might not remain identical when traced back. This is the process assumed by Gering to account for the rare alliteration of *v-* with a vowel in Old Norse.

The above theory of the breakdown of a hypothetical original system of identical vowel alliteration was based mainly upon the technical difficulties to be overcome in composing such poetry, and on the possibility of modifying the system owing to the presence of one stressed word in the line which did not participate in the alliteration, although its initial sound was a vowel. These technical difficulties may, however, have been overcome in yet another way. Since the same vowel in different surroundings is modified in quality, without either speaker or listener being conscious of the modification, it may reasonably be assumed that even at the time of the hypothetical alliteration of identical vowels there already existed slight variations in the vowels. This variation, originally unconscious, would, in certain cases, increase, until there arose in the normal course of phonetic change a conscious difference. But at all times there must have been a deviation from the normal, and this deviation becoming stereotyped in the case of poetry transmitted by word of mouth from generation to generation would, in some cases, develop a conscious difference of sound. But since the great majority of phonetic changes are gradual, and proceed from one manner of articulation to another very near to it, it follows that when the alliterating vowels were heard to be different, these latter were yet phonetically—

and acoustically—still very closely related. The development of originally identical vowels into vowels phonetically and acoustically closely related would then lead to the alliteration in new poems of similar phonetically related vowels, which yet did not originate from identical vowels. This development may, of course, have been complicated by the conditions already referred to in the preceding pages, and the old tradition of alliterating identical vowels may very well have accompanied these new developments, though it would only show itself in new poems.

It is perhaps possible in this way to account for the difference between the first hand compositions, *Bēowulf* and the *Hêliand* as compared with the orally transmitted *Edda*. In the latter the initial words would be more subject to change, owing to the oral transmission, and hence the percentage of text-identical vowels is comparatively low (*Vǫlundarkviþa* 17 per cent., *Hyndluljóþ* 24 per cent., *Hymiskviþa* 12 per cent.). In the *Hêliand* and *Bēowulf*, on the other hand, the influence of oral transmission would not be so active, as they were first-hand compositions, and we should expect to find more text-identical vowels (*Bēowulf* 36 per cent., *Hêliand* 31·5 per cent., cf. p. 18).

An examination of the earliest texts will show, on the above hypothesis, four classes of lines:—

I. Those with text-identical vowels. These appear to be sufficiently numerous to discredit the view that alliteration of different vowels was the rule. They may become different when traced (I c).

II. Those with approximately identical text vowels. Some (II c) of these may, like those of I c, become different when traced. These are few in comparison with the whole number of lines with vowel alliteration, and may be substitutions in those lines in which the alliterating vowels had become different in the course of time. In this case they would not necessarily reveal identical vowels when traced back. On the other hand, they may represent lines

composed relatively late, but whilst the tradition in favour of identity was still felt. Thus, for example, after earliest O.E. *æ* had become *e* and *o* had become *e* by mutation, it would be possible to compose a line with the alliteration e e | e x which might go back to o o | æ x. This last consideration would, if such lines were frequent, in itself seriously detract from the value of any statistical tables, for we should then be called upon to decide the date of origin of every particular line before we could use it as evidence.

III. This difficulty is complicated in those lines with text-different vowels which become identical when traced. Thus a line with alliteration *æ a|ea x* may be traced back to *a a|a x*, but only on the assumption that the line is as old as the sound changes involved. It is, however, impossible to determine, for example, which of the lines in *Bēowulf* or the *Hêliand* exhibit traditional stereotyped formulæ. In Old Norse, where one may assume oral transmission of lines, the difficulty is less acute, but for *Bēowulf* and the *Hêliand* the evidence derived from this class of lines, as of Class II, is of more doubtful value.

IV. Contains those lines with text-different vowels which remain different when traced.

It would appear, then, that the evidence of that part of Class I and II which contains lines with identical or approximately identical vowels remaining so when traced back may be admitted in favour of the hypothesis, whereas the evidence of IV may be admitted against it. The evidence of Ic, IIc and III can only be admitted with qualifications, which will depend upon the view taken as to the proportion of *Bēowulf* and the *Hêliand* which represents traditional stereotyped lines. That portion of these poems which is first-hand must have been written after the operation of many sound laws and hence identity obtained by tracing is no evidence.

Before proceeding to an examination of the texts it is necessary to decide what is understood by identical vowels and what is understood by approximate identity or close

phonetic, acoustic resemblance. Here the first question which presents itself is whether long and short vowels are identical for the purpose of this investigation. Historically the development of long and short vowels is frequently not the same, and this difference of development may be due to an original difference, though not necessarily so. On the other hand, one may admit an original difference and still suppose it to have been so slight that it did not strike the ear. It is, moreover, noteworthy that both long and short *a* so frequently have the same development (*ă*, *æ̆* or *ō* + *Nasal*, etc., in O.E.). So also the question arises whether the first element of the P.G. diphthongs *ai*, *au* is the same and whether it is in turn to be regarded as identical with P.G. *ă*. Here again *ai* and *au* have different developments, so that one might suppose that the *a* of *ai* was not the same as the *a* of *au*. But this was probably not the case, for in the development P.G. *ai*>O.E. *ā*, the second element disappears and leaves the first intact; whereas in P.G. *au*>O.E. *ēa* there is assimilation of the two elements to each other, *i.e.*, a raising of the *a* and a lowering of the *u*, resulting in *œo̯*, so that the difference of development is due, not to an original difference of the *a* element, but to the difference of combination. If this be so, then P.G. *ai* and *au*, may be regarded as identical. On the other hand O.E. *ēo*, *ēa* would appear from their middle English development (*ē̯*, *ē̯*) not to have been identical in their first element, though the difference will scarcely have been great enough to disturb the alliteration.

It remains to determine whether simple vowels and the first elements of the diphthongs are to be regarded as identical. It does not seem possible to decide this from their behaviour, though P.G. *ă* develops in O.E. into both *ă* and *æ̆*, just as the first elements of the diphthongs *ai* and *au* develop into *a* and *æ* (*ai*>*ā*, *au*>*œo̯*>*ēa*). The acoustic probabilities, however, are that the difference in sound

would not be marked enough to violate the principle of identity. The same difficulty arises with regard to P.G. *ĕ* and *eu*. P.G. *ĕ* and *eu* both preserve their *e* sound in O.E. and M.E. In O.E. the two sounds were probably identical, both having become narrow (Bülbring, *Elementarb.*, § § 92 and 109, An. 1). And though the first element of O.E. *ēa* seems to have been wide, the difference was probably so slight that we may equate O.E. *ĕ*, *ēo*, *ēa*, and if it be permissible to assume acoustic identity for *e* and *ē* then the series *ĕ*, *ē*, *ĕ̄o*, *ĕ̄a*, may be equated for O.E.

Among the subjoined lists is one grouping the lines with approximately identical vowels. This list has been drawn up on the principle that those vowels are approximately identical which are only removed from each other by one stage in phonetic change, or, in other words, which are neighbours in the theoretical vowel tables of the phonetician. Since vowel change is gradual and does in fact go through the stages indicated in the usual vowel triangle of the phonetician, it follows that vowels only removed by one stage must approach each other in acoustic quality. Thus we should get the series *a*—*æ*—*e*—*i* and *a*—*å*—*o*—*u* falling into back and front vowels. The intermediate vowels *ü* (*y*) *ö* are not quite so simply placed. *ü* is a rounded *i* or *e*, but historically it is a development of *u*. Is it then to be regarded as an approximation to *u*, or to *i*, *e*? Having arisen from *u* it would seem to be an approximation to *u*, but having the tongue position of an *i*, it would seem to be an approximation to *i*. On the other hand, in modern German the sound *ü* appears to approach *i* more than *u*, and the writer has frequently heard it pronounced as pure *i* both in loud speech and in singing by Germans who normally pronounce *ü*. So also experience shows that in teaching the sound to the English, one approaches it much better from an *i* basis than from a *u* basis, which would seem to show that its quality is nearer an *i* than a *u*, and the same is shown

by the tendency to unround *ü, ö* to *i, e,* visible not only in the historical development of O.E. and M.E. but also in Mod. G. dialects. In the list it has therefore been regarded as being an acoustic approximation to both *i* and *e* and *u*. The same remarks apply to *ö, o, e.*

In tracing back vowels, the P.G. equivalent has been given, with the exception of P.G. *ǣ*>W.G. and earliest O.N. *ā*, where the W.G. form has been given. In the case of long vowels derived from short vowels + Nasal + spirant, the short vowel and the nasal are given in the marginal reductions. In the case of W.G. words in *o-*, the P.G. form is also given with *o-*. The author is fully aware that in such a form as O.E. *ofer*, the Idg. (and P.G.) form would have *u-*, Skt. *upari*, Lat. *s-uper*. But as the P.G. *u* split up into *o* and *u*, the author has preferred the *o* of the texts rather than *u*. In O.N., on the other hand, where the change *u*>*o* is known to have taken place late, the *u* has been preferred.

The lists in Part II have been drawn up in accordance with the hypothesis already developed and are consequently divided into: I. Complete identity. II. Approximate identity, of which each falls into three groups; *a*, identical in all elements; *b*, identical in two elements; *c*, historically different; and III. lines neither identical nor approximately so in the text but historically identical. IV. Lines identical neither historically nor in the texts.

The material examined consists of the whole of *Bēowulf*, in order that at least one entire monument should have been treated. In Old Norse four complete poems of the *Edda* have been examined and in the *Hêliand*, the first hundred lines containing vowel alliteration.

PART II.

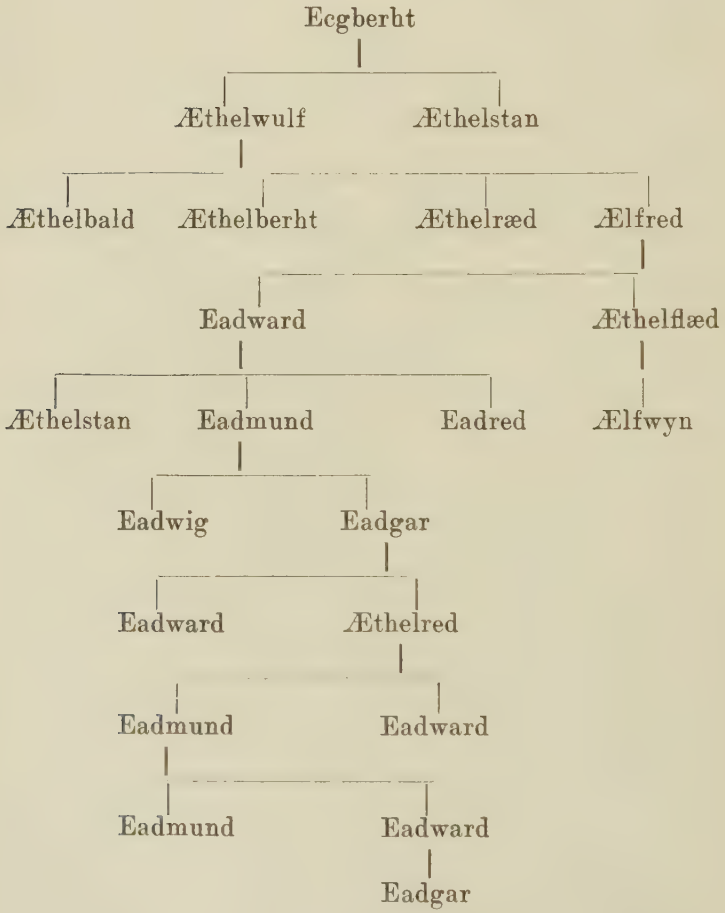
PART II.

Investigation of Minor Monuments.

The investigation of monuments other than epic poetry does not yield much result. Mythology has few cases of names with vowel alliteration, and heroic legend offers but few, as do alliterative proper names. The three names *Ingvaeones*, *Istvaeones*, *Erminones* show front vowels acoustically closely related, and *Askr* and *Embla*, if indeed they are old names, would give *a-*, (*Embla*<*ambilōn*, according to Sperber, *P.B.B.*, 1910, p. 219). In *Origo Gentis Langobardorum* we find: *duces Vandalorum, Ambri et Assi*, but also: *Gambara . . . . . habebat duos filios . . . . . Ibor et Agio.* In other cases, where the hypothetical tradition in favour of identical vowels may have been active, we find proper names with identical vowels, see, for example, the table of West Saxon genealogies on the next page; or in the Mercian kings, Ōswald, Ōswiu; or in the *Bēowulf* genealogies Ongenþēow—Onela—Ōhthere; Ēanmund—Ēadgils; Ēadwine—Ælfwine—Ealhild. It should be noted, however, as Hirt (*Idg. F.*, xiii, 59–61) has pointed out, that in many cases it is not so much a question of securing alliteration as of preserving the first syllable of the name. On the other hand this custom of preserving the first syllable of proper names probably had the same origin as, or was the direct outcome of, the practice of alliteration.

Among runic inscriptions, vowel alliteration appears to be rare. Viëtor (*Die North. Runensteine*, Marburg, 1895,

TABLE OF WEST SAXON GENEALOGIES.



§ 108) quotes the following from the Northumbrian inscriptions:—

æ—a—a.	Ruthwell, 58.
e—e.	Thornhill, I.
ea—ea.	Thornhill, II.
eo—eo.	Falstone.

Among the Scandinavian inscriptions, those which show vowel alliteration are both rare and of later date. Among the Danish inscriptions Wimmer (*De danske Runemindesmærker,* Kjøbenhavn, 1893—1908), quotes:—

Vol. iv, 2, p. 215, Århus sten, V.		
sar alti skip		a<a.
med arna		a<a.
Vol. ii, p. 369, Glavendrup.		
es stæinn þannsi ælti		æ<a.
eða ϕft anan dragi		a<a.
Vol. i, p. cxiv, Karlevi.		
Wandils jarmungrundar	w<u	ja<ë
ϕrgrandari landi	o<u	

Bugge (*Norges Indskrifter,* Christiana, 1891—1893) quotes as being alliterative, though not rhythmical:—

p. 38, Tune stone (*b*), arbja (sib.) joster arbijano a<a a<a.

Cædmon's Hymn shows the following lines:—

4. ēci dryctin,	ōr āstelidæ	ē<ai	ō<ō
5. hē ærist scōp	ælda barnum	æ<ai	æ<a
8. ēci dryctin,	æfter tīadæ	ē<ai	æ<a

Finally, it may be of interest to note what is the practice in alliteration in Middle and Modern English, and in the non-Germanic languages. In Middle English and Modern English identical vowels alliterate, and from this fact Lawrence concluded that the glottal stop disappeared in the Middle English period. Especially noteworthy here

is the treatment of the prefix *un-*, which is also common in *Bēowulf*. Of this prefix Nesfield (*Aids to the Study and Composition of English*) remarks that it seems to have cast a spell over English poets, and he quotes the following lines: —

Unbodied, unsouled, unheard, unseen. (Spenser.)
Unseen, unmark'd, unpitied, unrewarded. (Fairfax.)
Unhousel'd, disappointed, unaneled. (Shakespeare.)
Unrespited, unpitied, unreprieved. (Milton.)
Comes unprevented, unimplored, unsought. (Ibid.)
Unshaken, unseduced, unterrified. (Ibid.)
Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreformed. (Ibid.)
With pangs unfelt before, unpitied and alone. (Gray.)
Leave me unblest, unpitied here to mourn. (Ibid.)
Unquenched by want, unfann'd by strong desire. (Goldsmith.)
Unaltered, unimproved the manners run. (Ibid.)
Unwept, unhonour'd and unsung. (Scott.)
Unknell'd, uncoffin'd and unknown. (Byron.)
But more than all, unplumb'd,
Unscaled, untrodden in the heart of man. (M. Arnold.)

In Modern English vowel alliteration appears to have reached the stage of alliteration for the eye, as in such a phrase as "apt alliteration's artful aid."

Outside the Germanic languages alliteration appears to be most highly developed in Celtic where there is alliteration not only of initial sounds, but also of medial sounds. Cross alliteration also appears to be very common, as also the alliteration of two or even more successive sounds. Loth (*la métrique Galloise*) gives numerous examples of vowel alliteration, and in the alliteration of $C+V$ with $C+V$ both consonant and vowel are identical in all the examples, so also in the alliteration of $V+C$ with $V+C$. He also gives 40 examples, taken at random from various poems, of the alliteration of a single vowel.

Of these 40 cases 27 have alliteration of identical vowels, one of which is of the type *a a a a a*. The scheme of the remaining thirteen is as follows:—

1. *a a e*
2. *a a a e*
3. *a e e*
4. *y y y e*
5. *a a e*
6. *o o a*
7. *e e y*

and

8. *e i e i*
9. *a i a i*
10. *a e a e*
11. *e a e a*

(which are really also cases of cross alliteration of identical vowels)

12. *u o a*
13. *o a*

Hence it seems that in Celtic different vowels were admitted, as stated both by Windisch, Kuno Meyer and by Thurneysen (*Handbuch des Altirischen*, ii, p. 37), "Alle anlautenden Vocale alliterieren mit einander").

Vowel alliteration occurs also in Finnish and Tartar poetry, and in the former there appears to be a decided preference for the alliteration of identical vowels. Dr. Hirst has kindly furnished me with the alliterative scheme of 600 lines of *Kalevala*, from which it will appear that the alliteration of different vowels is exceptional. The scheme is as follows:—

2nd Song.	32nd Song.	6th Song.	Kanteletar.
6. *ee—e*	7. *i—i*	67. *i—i*	I. 4. *o—ou*
9. *a—a*	28. *e—aa*	85. *o—i(ä)*	5. *ei—äi*
19. *au—a*	27. *o—o*	87. *ei—iä*	6. *i—i*
52. *o—o*	29. *o—o*	93. *o—o*	7. *o—y*

2nd Song.		32nd Song.		6th Song.		Kanteletar.	
68.	*u—y*	31.	*e—e*	101.	*e—e*	III. 1.	*i—i—i*
81.	*o—o*	38.	*a—a*	115.	*e—a*		
90.	*a—a*	43.	*a—au*	116.	*e—e*		
94.	*i—i*	60.	*ei—e*	117.	*e—a*		
96.	*u—o*	69.	*e—e*	123.	*i—i*		
112.	*u—y*	81.	*e—a*	125.	*i—i*		
126.	*a—a*	145.	*u—u*	144.	*a—oi*		
152.	*uui—u*	154.	*ai—a*	147.	*o—o*		
177.	*i—i*	125.	*a—a*	152.	*o—oi*		
192.	*o—o*	174.	*e—e*	153.	*a—a*		
		177.	*y—y*	164.	*a—e*		
				179.	*o—o*		
				190.	*aa—a*		
				192.	*ui—u*		
				194.	*u—au*		
				198.	*e—e*		
				199.	*i—i*		
				201.	*a—a*		
				222.	*ai—aa*		
				227.	*aa—a*		

There are thus 58 cases of vowel alliteration, of which 47, or 81 per cent., show identical vowels.

In Latin poetry, where vowel alliteration occurs, it is the invariable practice, according to Loch and Huemer, to let only identical vowels alliterate. In the poetry of Aldhelm, however, this does not appear to be the case. The poems investigated show consonant alliteration to be extremely common and vowel alliteration to be very rare in comparison. In the *Anonymi epistola ad sororem anonymam* (*Patrologiæ cursus completus*, ed. J. P. Migne, Paris, 1863, vol. 89, pp. 301—310) alliteration of identical vowels predominates, as also in the *Fragmentum de die Judicii* (*op. cit.*, p. 297 *seq.*). In the opening 250 lines of both *de aris beatæ Mariæ* and *de laudibus virginum* (*op. cit.*, pp. 291 and 239) there is likewise a strong tendency to alliterate identical vowels. It should be

noted, however, that the evidence derived from Latin poetry loses much of its force owing to the fact that alliteration is there not an essential part of the technique, but only an ornament. In Germanic and Celtic poetry the technique tells us where alliteration is to be expected and hence if different vowels are found to alliterate, we may assume the alliteration to be intentional. But in Latin poetry, on the other hand, the alliteration is not determined by any rules and it is therefore impossible to say whether two initial vowels alliterate or not.

BĒOWULF.

(According to the text of Holthausen, but with the long diphthongs marked, instead of the short ones.)

* Indicates that a line reoccurs in (c).
‡ Indicates that a line reoccurs elsewhere than in (c).

I.

(*a*) The following lines contain text-identical vowels in all members :

86. ðā sē ellengǣst	earfoðlīce	e<a ea<a
138. þā wæs ēaðfynde,	þe him elles hwǣr	ēa<au e<a
248. eorla ofer eorþan,	ðonne is ēower sum,	eo<ë eo<ë ēo<eu
358. ēode ellenrōf,	þæt hē for eaxlum gestōd	ēo<ijō e<a ea<a
373. wæs his ealdfæder	Ecgþēo hāten,	ea<a e<a
425. wið þām āglǣcan	āna gehēgan	ā<ai ā<ai
513. þǣr git ēagorstrēam	earmum þehton,	ēa[1]<ā ea<a
577. ne on ēgstrēamum	earmran mannon;	ē<ā ea<a
637. eorlic ellen,	oþðe endedæg	eo<ë e<a e<a
655. nǣfre ic ǣnġum men	ǣr ālȳfde,	ǣ<ai ǣ<ai
732.*eorþan scēata	on elran men	eo<ë e<a
732. atol āglǣca	ānra gehwylces	a<a ā<ai ā<ai
795.*eorl Bēowulfes	ealde lāfe,	eo<ë ea<a
807. earmlic wurðan	ond sē ellorgāst	ea<a e<a
828. ellenmærþum.	Hæfde Ēast—Denum	e<a ēa<au
835. earm ond eaxle—	þǣr wæs eal geador	ea<a ea<a ea<a
853. þanon eft gewiton	ealdgesīðas,	e<a ea<a
869. sē ðe ealfela	ealdgesegena	ea<a ea<a
883.*hæfdon ealfela	eotena cynnes	ea<a eo<ë
902.*eafoð ond ellen;	hē mid eotenum wearð	ea<a e<a eo<ë
913.*ēðel Scyldinga.—	hē þǣr eallum wearð,	ē<ō ea<a
928. ðisse ansȳne	alwealdan þanc	a<a a<a
945. þæt hyre ealdmetod	ēste wǣre	ea<a ē<an
955. āwa tō aldre.	Alwalda þec	ā<ai a<a a<a
958. wē þæt ellenweorc	ēstum miclum,	e<a ē<an
1035.*heht ðā eorla hlēo	eahta mēaras,	eo<ë ea<a
1059. forþan bið andgit	āwer sēlest,	a<a ā<ai

1. ēagor<ǣɣ(u̯)uz— Pogatscher, *E.St.* 27, 233. *P.B.B.*, 31, 88.

1145.*þæs wæron mid eote-num	ecge cūðe.	eo<ë e<a
1194. ēstum geëawed,	earmrēade twā,	ē<an ēa<au ea<a
1201.*Eormenrīces,	gecēas ēcne rǣd.—	eo<ë ē<aju
1222. ealne wīdeferhþ	weras ehtigað,	ea<a e<a
1272. ond him tō anwaldan	āre gelȳfde,	a<a ā<ai
1324.*Yrmenlāfes	yldra brōþor,	y<ë y<a
1328. eoferas cnysedan;	swylc scolde eorl wesan,	eo<ë eo<ë
1329. æþeling ærgōd,	swylc Æschere wæs!	æ<a ǣ<ai æ<a
1356. hwæþer him ænig wæs	ær ācenned	æ<ai ǣ<ai
1442.*eorlgewǣdum,	nalles for ealdre mearn:	eo<ë ea<a
1478. aldre linnan,	þæt ðū mē ā wǣre,	a<a ā<ai
1558. ealdsweord eotenisc,	ecgum þȳhtig	ea<a eo<ë e<a
1621. ēacne eardas,	þā sē ellorgāst	ēa<au ea<a e<a
1692. ēcan dryhtne,	him þæs endelēan	ē<aju e<a
1702.*eald ēðelweard—	þæt ðes eorl wǣre	ea<a ē<ō eo<ë
1717. eafeþum stēpte,	ofer ealle men	ea<a ea<a
1727. eard ond eorlscipe:	hē āh ealra geweald.	ea<a eo<ë ea<a
1730.*seleð him on ēþle	eorþan wynne,	ē<ō eo<ë
1738. ecghete ēoweð,	ac him eal worold	e<a ēo<au ea<a
1753. hit on endestæf	eft gelimpeð,	e<a e<a
1774.*hwæt, mē þæs on ēþle	edwenden cwōm,	ē<ō e<ë
1781. ofer ealdgewinnan	ēagum starige!	ea<a ēa<au
1883. āgendfrēgan,	sē þe on ancre rād.	ā<ai a<a
1960.*eðel sīnne:	þonon Ēomēr wōc	ē<ō ēo<ë
1967. elne geēodon,	tō ðæs þe eorla hlēo,	e<a ēo<ijo eo<ë
2021. eorlum on ende	ealuwǣge bær,	eo<ë e<a ea<a
2111. hwīlum eft ongan	eldo gebunden	e<a e<a
2133. eorlscipe efnde,	ealdre genēðde,	eo<ë e<a ea<a
2142.*ac mē eorla hlēo	eft gesealde	eo<ë e<a
2330. ofer ealde riht	ēcan dryhtne	ea<a ē<aju
2374. æt ðām æðelinge	ǣnge ðinga,	æ<a ǣ<ai
2407.*sē ðæs orleges	ōr onstealde,	o<u ō<ō
2470. eaferum lǣfde,	swā dēð ēadig mon,	ea<a ēa<au
2535. eorlscype efne.	Ic mid elne sceal	eo<ë e<a e<a
2611. þæt wæs mid eldum	Ēanmundes lāf,	e<a ēa<au
2727.*eorðan wynne:	ðā wæs eall sceacen	eo<ë ea<a
2736. egsan ðēon.	Ic on earde bád	e<a ea<a
2790. ealdres æt ende:	hē hine eft ongon	ea<a e<a e<a
2822.*earfoðlīce,	þæt hē on eorðan gescah	ea<a eo<ë
2825. egeslic eorðdraca	ealdre berēafod,	e<a eo<ë ea<a
2861. ēðbegēte,	þām ðe ǣr his elne forlēas.	ē<au e<a
2885.*eall ēðelwyn	ēowrum cynne,	ea<a ē<ō ēo<eu

2891. eorla gehwylcum	þonne edwītlīf !	eo<ë e<ë
2896. endedōgres	ond eftcymes	e<a e<a
2903.*him on efn ligeð	ealdorgewinna	e<ë ea<a
2932. Onelan mōdor	ond Ōhtheres ;	o<a ō<an
2934.*oð ðæt hī oðēodon	earfoðlīce	o<un ēo<ijo ea<a
2979. ealdsweord eotenisc	entiscne helm	ea<a eo<ë e<a
3010. on ādfære.	Ne scel ānes hwæt	ā<ai ā<ai
3046.*hæfde eorðscrafa	ende genyttod.—	eo<ë e<a
3063. eorl ellenrōf	ende gefēre	eo<ë e<a e<a
3166. forlēton eorla gestrēon	eorðan healdan,	eo<ë eo<ë
3173. eahtodan eorlscipe	ond his ellenweorc	ea<a eo<ë e<a

(*b*) The following lines contain text-identical vowels in two members (including the Hauptstab) :

56.‡aldor of earde,—	oþ þæt him eft onwōc	a<a ea<a e<a
219. oð þæt ymb āntīd	ōþres dōgres	o<un ā<ai ō<an
357.*eald ond anhār	mid his eorla gedriht ;	ea<a a<a eo<ë
421.*ȳðde eotena cyn	ond on ȳðum slōg	ȳ<au eo<ë ȳ<un
573.*unfægne eorl,	þonne his ellen dēah.	u<u eo<ë e<a
596.*atole ecgþræce.	ēowre lēode	a<a e<a ēo<eu
616.‡*ærest Ēast-Dena	ēþelwearde,	æ<ai ēa<au ē<ō
726.*ēode yrremōd :	him of ēagum stōd	ēo<ijo y<i ēa<au
761. eoten wæs ūtweard,	eorl furþur stōp.	eo<ë ū<ū eo<ë
774. innan ond ūtan	īrenbendum,	i<i ū<ū ī<ī
784.‡atelic egsa	ānra gehwylcum,	a<a e<a ā<ai
960. eafoð uncūþes ;	ūþe ic swīþor,	ea<a u<u ū<un
998. eal inneweard	īrenbendum fæst,	ea<a i<i ī<ī
1000.‡ealles ansund,	þā sē āglæca	ea<a a<a ā<ai
1129. elne unhlitme ;	eard gemunde,	e<a u<u ea<a
1185. uncran eaferan,	gif hē þæt eal gemon,	u<u ea<a ea<a
1377.‡eft æt þē ānum.	Eard gīt ne const,	e<a ā<ai ea<a
1512.*ēhton āglæcan.	Ðā sē eorl ongeat,	ē<an ā<ai eo<ë
1529.‡eft wæs anræd,	nalas elnes læt,	e<a a<a e<a
1547.‡āngan eaferan.	Him on eaxle læt,	ā<ai ea<a ea<a
1679.‡enta ærgeweorc ;	hit on æht gehwearf	e<a æ<ai æ<ai
1757. eorles ærgestrēon,	egesan ne gȳmeð.—	eo<ë æ<ai e<a
1763.‡þæt þec ādl oðde ecg	eafoþes getwæfeð,	ā<ai e<a ea<a
1787.‡þā wæs eft swā ær	ellenrōfum,	e<a æ<ai e<a
2042.‡eald æscwiga,	sē ðe eall geman	ea<a æ<a ea<a
2149.‡ēstum geȳwan.	gēn is eall æt ðē	ē<an ȳ<au ea<a
2248. eorla æhte !	Hwæt, hyt ær on ðē	eo<ë æ<ai æ<ai
2314.‡eldum on andan :	nō ðær āht cwices	e<a a<a ā<ai
2334.*ēalond ūtan,	eorðweard ðone	ēa<a ū<ū eo<ë
2368.‡earm ānhaga	eft tō lēodum,	ea<a ā<ai e<a

2498. āna on orde,	ond swā tō aldre sceal	ā<ai o<o a<a
2506.‡æþeling on elne.	Næs ecg bona,	æ<a e<a e<a
2523. oreðes ond āttres :	forðon ic mē on hafu	o<o ā<ai o<a
2695. andlongne eorl	ellen cȳðan,	a<a eo<ë e<a
2731.‡ænig yrfeweard	æfter wurde,	ǣ<ai y<a æ<a
2763.‡eald ond ōmig,	earmbēaga fela,	ea<a ō<ā ea<a
2778. ecg wæs īren—	ealdhlāfordes	e<a ī<ī ea<a
2876.‡āna mid ecge,	þā him wæs elnes þearf.	ā<ai e<a e<a
2893.*ūp ofer ēgclif,	þǣr þæt eorlweorod	ū<ū ē<ā eo<e
3031.*ēodon unblīðe	under Earnanæs	ēo<ijo u<u ea<a
3135. ǣghwæs unrīm,	æþeling boren,	ǣ<ai u<u æ<a
3049. ōmge, þurhetene,	swā hīe wið eorðan fæðm	ō<ā e<ë eo<ë

(*c*) Of the above quoted lines, the following show vowels neither identical nor approximately identical, when traced back :

357. eald ond anhār	mid his eorla gedriht ;	ea<a a<a eo<ë
421. ȳðde eotena cyn	ond on ȳðum slōg	ȳ<au eo<ë ȳ<un
573. unfǣgne eorl,	þonne his ellen dēah.	u<u eo<ë e<a
596. atole ecgþræce	eowre lēode	a<a e<a ēo<eu
616. ǣrest Ēast—Dena	ēþelwearde,	ǣ<ai ēa<au ē<ō
726. ēode yrremōd :	him of ēagum stōd	ēo<ijo y<i ēa<au
752. eorþan scēata	on elran men	eo<ë e<a
795. eorl Bēowulfes	ealde lāfe,	eo<ë ea<a
883. hæfdon ealfela	eotena cynnes	ia<a eo<ë
902. eafoð ond ellen ;	hē mid eotenum wearð	ia<a e<a eo<ë
913. ēðel Scyldinga.—	hē þǣr eallum wearð,	ē<ō ea<a
1035. heht ðā eorla hlēo	eahta mearas,	eo<ë ea<a
1145. þæs wǣron mid eotenum	ecge cūde.	eo<ë e<a
1201. Eormenrīces,	gecēas ēcne rǣd.—	eo<ë ē<aju
1324. Yrmenlāfes	yldra brōþor,	y<ë y<a
1442. eorlgewǣdum,	nalles for ealdre mearn :	eo<ë ea<a
1512. ēhton āglǣcan—	Ðā sē eorl ongeat,	ē<an ā<ai eo<ë
1702. eald ēðelweard—	þæt ðes eorl wǣre	ea<a ē<ō eo<ë
1730. seleð him on ēþle	eorþan wynne,	ē<ō eo<ë
1774. hwæt, mē þæs on ēþle	edwenden cwōm,	ē<ō e<ë
1960. ēðel sīnne :	þonon Ēomēr wōc	ē<ō ēo<ë
2142. ac mē eorla hlēo	eft gesealde	eo<ë e<a
2334. ēalond ūton,	eorðweard ðone	ēa<a ū<ū eo<ë
2727. eorðan wynne :	ðā wæs eall sceacen	eo<ë ea<a
2822. earfoðlīce,	þæt hē on eorðan geseah	ea<a eo<ë
2885. eall ēðelwyn	ēowrum cynne,	ea<a ē<ō ēo<eu

2893. ūp ofer ēgclif,	þǣr þæt eorlweorod	ū<ū ē<ā eo<ë
2903. him on efn ligeð	ealdorgewinna	e<ë ea<a
2934. oð ðæt hī oðēodon	earfoðlīce	o<un ēo<ijo ea<a
3031. ēodon unblīðe	under Earnanæs	ēo<ijo u<u ea<a
3046. hæfde eorðscrafa	ende genyttod.—	eo<ë e<a

II.

(*a*) The following lines show text-vowels approximately identical in all members :

3.‡hū ðā æþelingas	ellen fremedon.	æ<a e<a
6. egsode eorlas,	syððan ǣrest wearð	e<a eo<ë ǣ<ai
12.‡ðǣm eafera wæs	æfter cenned	ea<a æ<a
15.‡þæt hīe ǣr drugon	aldorlēaste	ǣ<ai a<a
71.*ond þǣr on innan	eall gedǣlan	i<i ea<a
92.*cwæð, þæt sē ælmihtga	eorðan worhte,	æ<a eo<ë
150.*ylda bearnum	undyrne cūð,	y<a u<u
159.‡ac sē āglǣca	ēhtende wæs,	ā<ai ē<an
241.‡endesæta,	ǣgwearde hēold,	e<a [1]ǣ<ā
256.‡ānfealdne geþōht :	ofost is sēlest	ā<ai o<a(or o)
280.*gyf him edwenden	ǣfre scolde	e<ë ǣ<ai
468.*mīn yldra mǣg	unlifgende,	y<a u<u
503.*forþon þe hē ne ūþe,	þæt ǣnig ōðer mon,	ū<un ō<an
510.‡aldrum nēþdon?	ne inc ǣnig mon,	a<a ǣ<ai
538.‡aldrum nēðdon,	ond þæt geæfndon swā.	a<a æ<a
566.‡be ȳðlāfe	ūppe lǣgon,	ȳ<un ū<ū
616.*ǣrest Ēast-Dena	ēþelwearde,	ǣ<ai ēa<au ē<ō
620.‡ymbēode þā	ides Helminga	ēo<ijo i<i
627.*þæt hēo on ǣnigne	eorl gelȳfde	ǣ<ai eo<ë
646.‡ǣfenræste.	Wiste þǣm āhlǣcan	ǣ<ā ā<ai
692.‡eft eardlufan	ǣfre gesēcan,	e<a ea<a ǣ<ai
718.‡nǣfre hē on aldordagum	ǣr nē siþðan	a<a ǣ<ai
749.*inwitþancum	ond wið earm gesæt.	i<i ea<a
757.‡swylce hē on ealderdagum	ǣr gemētte.	ea<a ǣ<ai
779.‡þæt hit ā mid gemete	ǣnig manna,	ā<ai ǣ<ai
791.*nolde eorla hlēo	ǣnge þinga	eo<ë ǣ<ai
888.‡æþelinges bearn	āna genēðde	æ<a ā<ai
893.‡hæfde āglǣca	elne gegongen,	ǣ<ai e<a
941.‡ðē wē ealle	ǣr ne meahton	ea<a ǣ<ai
982.*siþðan æþelingas	eorles cræfte	æ<ai eo<ë

1. Cf. p. 48.

1050.*ðā gȳt ǣghwylcum	eorla drihten	æ<ai eo<ë
1099.‡ārum hēolde,	þæt ðǣr ænig mon	ā<ai æ<ai
1117.*ēame on eaxle :	ides gnornode,	ēa<au ea<a i<i
1141. þæt hē eotena bearn	inne gemunde.	eo<ë i<i
1155. eal ingesteald	eorð cyninges,	ea<a i<i eo<ë
1182.‡ārum healdan,	gyf þū ǣr þonne hē,	ā<ai æ<ai
1235.*eorla manegum,	syþðan æfen cwōm	eo<ë æ<ā
1247. þæt hīe oft wæron	anwīggearwe	o<o o<a
1269.‡þǣr him āglæca	ætgrǣpe wearð ;	ā<ai æ<a
1281. edhwyrft eorlum,	siþðan inne fealh	e<ë eo<ë i<i
1294.‡hraðe hēo æþelinga	ānne hæfde	æ<a ā<ai
1312.*ēode eorla sum,	æþele cempa,	ēo<ijo eo<ë æ<a
1314.‡hwæþer him alwalda	ǣfre wille	a<a æ<ai
1373.‡þonon ȳðgeblond	ūp āstīgeð	ȳ<un ū<ū
1381.‡ealdgestrēonum,	swā ic ǣr dyde,	ea<a æ<ai
1386.‡ūre ǣghwylc sceal	ende gebīdan	æ<ai e<a
1408.*oferēode þā	æþelinga bearn	eo<ijo æ<a
1420.*oncȳð eorla gehwǣm,	syðþan Æscheres	eo<ë æ<a
1428. ðā on undernmǣl	oft bewitigað	u<u o<o
1464.‡þæt hit ellenweorc	æfnan scolde.	e<a æ<a
1466.‡eafoþes cræftig,	þæt hē ǣr gespræc	ea<a æ<ai
1502.‡atolan clommum ;	nō þȳ ǣr in gescōd	a<a æ<ai
1583.*ond ōðer swylc	ūt offerede,	ō<an ū<ū
1587.‡aldorlēasne,	swā him ǣr gescōd	a<a æ<ai
1596.‡þæt hī þæs æðelinges	eft ne wēndon,	æ<a e<a
1608.*þæt hit eal gemealt	īse gelīcost,	ea<a ī<ī
1636.‡earfoðlīce	heora ǣghwæþrum,	ea<a æ<ai
1644.*ðā cōm in gangan	ealdor þegna,	i<i ea<a
1649. egeslic for eorlum	ond þǣre idese mid,	e<a eo<ë i<i
1657.‡earfoðlīce,	ætrihte wæs	ea<a æ<a
1661.*ac mē geūðe	ylda waldend,	ū<un y<a
1772.‡æscum ond ecgum,	þæt ic mē ænigne	æ<a e<a æ<ai
1776.*ealdgewinna	ingenga mīn :	ea<a i<i
1804.‡wæron æþelingas	eft tō lēodum	æ<a e<a
1866. ðā gīt him eorla hlēo	inne gesealde,	eo<ë i<i
1891. eftsīð eorla,	swā hē ǣr dyde ;	e<a eo<ë æ<ai
2002.‡hwylc orleghwīl	uncer Grendles	o<u u<u
2042.‡eald æscwiga,	sē ðe eall geman	ea<a æ<a ea<a
2122.‡ellenlīce :	þǣr wæs Æschere,	e<a æ<a
2152. hēt ðā in beran	eaforhēafodsegn,	i<i ea<ë
2157.‡þæt ic his ǣrest ðē	ēst gesægde :	æ<ai ē<an
2165.‡æppelfealwe :	hē him ēst getēah	æ<a ē<an
2190. hēt ðā eorla hlēo	in gefetian,	eo<ë i<i
2232.*in ðām eorðhūse	ærgestrēona,	eo<ë æ<ai

2234.*eormenlāfe	æþelan cynnes,	eo<ë æ<a
2237.‡ærran mælum,	ond sē ān ðā gēn	æ<ai ā<ai
2244. þær on innan bær	eorlgestrēona,	i<i eo<ë
2303.‡earfoðlīce,	oð ðæt æfen cwōm;	ea<a æ<ā
2338. īrenne scyld,	eorla dryhten,	ī<ī eo<ë
2342.‡æþeling ærgōd	ende gebīdan,	æ<a æ<ai e<a
2349.‡eafoð ond ellen,	forðon hē ær fela	ea<a e<a æ<ai
2371.*þæt hē wið ælfylcum	ēþelstōlas	æ<a ē<ō
2412.*ȳðgewinne,	sē wæs innan full	ȳ<un i<i
2435.*wæs þām yldestan	ungedōfe	y<a u<u
2493. eard, ēðelwyn.	Næs him ænig þearf,	ea<a ē<ō æ<ai
2577.*Inges lāfe,	þæt sīo ecg gewāc	i<i e<a
2590.‡elles hwergen,	swā sceal æghwylc mon,	e<a æ<ai
2606.‡gemunde ðā ðā āre,	þe hē him ær forgeaf,	ā<ai æ<ai
2622. eorlscipe efnan	swā his ærfæder;	eo<ë e<a æ<ai
2654.‡eft tō earde,	nemne wē æror mægen	e<a ea<a æ<ai
2712.*þe him sē eorðdraca	ær geworhte,	eo<ë æ<ai
2719. ēcne eorðreced	innan hēoldon.	ē<aju ē<ë i<i
2787.‡ellensīocne,	þær hē hine ær forlēt.	e<a æ<ai
2816. eorlas on elne :	ic him æfter sceal.	eo<ë e<a æ<a
2828.*ac hine īrenna	ecga fornāmon,	ī<ī e<a
2844.‡hæfde æghwæðer	ende gefēred	æ<ai e<a
2905.‡on ðām āglæcan	ænge þinga	ā<ai æ<ai
2911.‡orleghwīle,	syððan underne	o<u u<u
3003.‡ealdorlēasne,	þone ðe ær gehēold	ea<a æ<ai
3015.*æled þeccan,	nalles eorl wegan	æ<ai eo<ë
3026.‡earne secgan	hū him æt ælē spēow,	ea<a æ<ā
3035.‡ærrun mælum :	þā wæs endedæg	æ<ai e<a
3123. ēode eahta sum	under inwithrōf	ēo<ijo ea<a i<i
3130.*þæt hī ofstlice	ūt geferedon	o<o[1] (or a) ū<ū
3170.‡æþelinga bearn	ealra twelfe,	æ<a ea<a

(*b*) The following lines show text-vowels approximately identical in two members (including the Hauptstab) :

46.‡ænne ofer ȳðe	umborwesende :	æ<ai ȳ<un u<u
77.‡ædre mid yldum,	þæt hit wearð ealgearo,	æ<ai y<a ea<a
145. āna wið eallum,	oð þæt īdel stōd	æ<ai ea<a ī<ī
251.*ænlic ansȳn.	Nū ic ēower sceal	æ<ai a<a ēo<eu
263.‡æþele ordfruma,	Ecgþēow hāten;	æ<a o<o e<a
369.‡eorla geæhtlan,	hūru sē aldor dēah,	eo<ë æ<a a<a

1. ofost<*of-ýst (Sievers, *Ags. Gr.* 43, a.4)<oðunst (Bülbring, *Ae. Elbch.* §375). Holthausen connects it with O.S. oðast<of-*āst, and connects*āst with O.Icel. eisa.

392.‡aldor Ēast—Dena,	þæt hē ēower æþelu can	a<a ēa<au æ<a
433.‡hæbb ic ēac geāhsod,	þæt sē ǣglǣca	ēa<au ā<ai ǣ<ai
444. etan unforhte,	swā hē oft dyde,	e<ë u<u o<o
592.‡atol ǣglǣca,	ealdre þīnum,	a<a ǣ<ai ea<a
642.*þā wæs eft swā ǣr	inne on healle	e<a ǣ<ai i<i
802. ǣnig ofer eorþan	īrenna cyst,	ǣ<ai eo<ë ī<ī
816.‡atol ǣglǣca,	him on eaxle wearð	a<a ā<ai ea<a
906.‡eallum æþelingum	tō aldorceare.	ea<a æ<a a<a
972.‡earm ond eaxle;	nō þǣr ǣnge swā þēah	ea<a ea<a ǣ<ai
987.‡egl, unhēoru :	ǣghwylc gecwæð,	e<a u<u ǣ<ai
989.‡īren ærgōd,	þe ðæs āhlǣcan	ī<ī ǣ<ai ā<ai
1112.*eofer īrenheard,	æþeling manig	eo<ë ī<ī æ<a
1168.*ārfæst æt ecga gelācum.	Spræc þā ides Scyldinga :	ā<ai e<a i<i
1187.‡umborwesendum ǣr	ārna gefremedon.	u<u ǣ<ai ā<ai
1225.‡æþeling, ēadig!	Ic þē an tela	æ<a ēa<au a<a
1238.*unrīm eorla,	swā hīe oft ǣr dydon :	u<u eo<ë ǣ<ai
1254.‡unriht æfnde	oþ þæt ende becwōm,	u<u æ<a e<a
1259.‡ides, āglǣcwīf	yrmþe gemunde,	i<i ā<ai y<a
1332.‡atol æse wlanc	eftsīðas tēah,	a<a æ<ā e<a
1351.‡idese onlic;	ōðer earmsceapen	i<i o<a ea<a
1549.*wið ord ond wið ecge	ingang forstōd.	o<o e<a i<i
1617.*ǣttren ellorgǣst,	sē þǣr inne swealt.	ǣ<ai e<a i<i
1655.*ic þæt unsōfte	ealdre gedīgde,	u<u ea<a
1676.‡aldrbealu eorlum,	swā þū ǣr dydest.	a<a eo<ë ǣ<ai
1736.*ādl ne yldo,	ne him inwitsorh	ā<ai y<a i<i
1848.‡ādl oþðe īren	ealdor ðīnne,	ā<ai ī<ī ea<a
1865.‡ǣghwæs untǣle	ealde wīsan.	ǣ<ai u<u ea<a
1885.‡oft geæhted :	þæt wæs ān cyning,	o<o æ<a ā<ai
1941.‡idese tō efnan,	þēah ðe hīo ǣnlicu sȳ	i<i e<a ǣ<ai
2064. āðsweord eorla,	syððan Ingelde	ā<ai eo<ë i<i
2092.*syððan ic on yrre	ūppriht āstōd.—	y<i ū<ū
2188.*æðeling unfrom :	edwenden cwōm	æ<a u<u e<ë
2214.*eldum uncūð.	þǣr on innan gīong	e<a u<u i<i
2271. eald ūhtsceaða	opene standan,	ea<a ū<un o<o
2297.‡eal ūtanweard :	ne ðǣr ǣnig mon	ea<a ū<ū ǣ<ai
2443.‡æðeling unwrecen	ealdres linnan.	æ<a u<u ea<a
2449.‡eald ond infrōd	ǣnge gefremman.	ea<a i<i ǣ<ai
2557.‡oruð āglǣcan	ūt of stāne,	o<u ā<ai ū<ū
2564.‡ecgum unslāw :	ǣghwæðrum wæs	e<a u<u ǣ<ai
2586.‡īren ærgōd.	Næs þæt ēðe sīð,	ī<ī ǣ<ai ē<au
2624.‡ǣghwæs unrīm,	þā hē of ealdre gewāt,	ǣ<ai u<u ea<a
2667.‡æðeling anhȳdig;	ealle mægne	æ<a a<a ea<a
2715.‡āttr on innan.	Ðā sē æðeling gīong,	ā<ai i<i æ<a

2760.‡ealdes ūhtflogan,	orcas stōdan,	ea<a ū<un o<o[1]
2772.‡onsȳn ǣnig,	ac hyne ecg fornam.	o<a ǣ<ai e<a
2908.*eorl ofer ōðrum	unlifgendum,	eo<ë ō<an u<u
2951.*eorl Ongenþīo	ufor oncirde;	eo<ë o<a u<u
3019.‡oft, nalles ǣne,	elland tredan,	o<o ǣ<ai e<a
3075.‡āgendes ēst	ǣr gescēawod.	ā<ai ē<an ǣ<ai
3101. uton nū efstan	ōðre sīðe	u<un e<o (or a) ō<an
3168.‡eldum swā unnyt,	swā hit ǣror wæs.	e<a u<u ǣ<ai

(*c*) Of the above quoted lines, the following show vowels neither identical, nor approximately identical, when traced back :

71. ond þǣr on innan	eall gedǣlan	i<i ea<a
92. cwæð, þæt sē ælmihtga	eorðan worhte,	æ<a eo<ë
145. āna wið eallum,	oð þæt īdel stōd	ā<ai ea<a ī<ī
150. ylda bearnum	undyrne cūð,	y<a u<u
251. ǣnlic ansȳn.	Nū ic ēower sceal	ǣ<ai a<a ēo<eu
280. gyf him edwenden	ǣfre scolde	e<ë ǣ<ai
468. mīn yldra mǣg	unlifgende,	y<a u<u
503. forþon þe hē ne ūþe,	þæt ǣnig ōðer man	ū<un ō<an
616. ǣrest Ēast—Dena	ēþelwearde,	ǣ<ai ēa<au ē<ō
627. þæt hēo on ǣnigne	eorl gelȳfde	ǣ<ai eo<ë
642. þā wæs eft swā ǣr	inne on healle	e<a ǣ<ai i<i
749. inwitþancum	ond wið earm gesæt.	i<i ea<a
791. nolde eorla hlēo	ǣnge þinga	eo<ë ǣ<ai
982. siþðan æþelingas	eorles cræfte	æ<a eo<ë
1050. ðā gȳt ǣghwylcum	eorla drihten	ǣ<ai eo<ë
1112. eofer īrenheard,	æþeling manig	eo<ë ī<ī æ<a
1117. ēame on eaxle :	ides gnornode,	ēa<au ea<a i<i
1168. ārfæst æt ecga gelācum.	Spræc ðā ides Scyldinga :	ā<ai e<a i<i
1235. eorla manegum,	syþðan ǣfen cwōm	eo<ë ǣ<ā
1238. unrīm eorla,	swā hīe oft ǣr dydon :	u<u eo<ë ǣ<ai
1312. ēode eorla sum,	æþele cempa,	ēō<ijo eo<ë æ<a
1408. oferēode þā	æþelinga bearn	ēo<ijo æ<a
1420. oncȳð eorla gehwæm,	syþðan Æscheres	eo<ë[2] æ<a
1549. wið ord ond wið ecge	ingang forstōd.	o<o e<a i<i
1583. ond ōðer swylc	ūt offerede,	ō<an ū<ū
1608. þæt hit eal gemealt	īse gelīcost,	ea<a ī<ī
1617. ǣttren ellorgǣst,	sē þǣr inne swealt.	ǣ<ai e<a i<i
1644. ðā cōm in gangan	ealdor ðegna,	i<i ea<a
1655. Ic þæt unsōfte	ealdre gedīgde,	(i<i) u<u ea<a

1. Cf. p. 35.
2. For rhythm cf. Sievers (*P.B.B.*, 10).

1661. ac mē geūðe	ylda waldend,	ū<un y<a
1736. ādl ne yldo,	ne him inwitsorh	ǣ<ai y<a i<i
1776. ealdgewinna	ingenga mīn :	ea<a i<i
2092. syððan ic on yrre	ūppriht āstōd.—	y<i ū<ū
2188. æþeling unfrom :	edwenden cwōm	æ<a u<u e<ë
2214. eldum uncūð.	þǣr on innan gīong	e<a u<u i<i
2232. in ðām eorðhūse	ærgestrēona,	eo<ë ǣ<ai
2234. eormenlāfe	æþelan cynnes,	eo<ë æ<a
2371. þæt hē wið ælfylcum	ēþelstōlas	æ<a e<ō
2412. ÿðgewinne,	sē wæs innan full	ÿ<un i<i
2435. wæs þām yldestan	ungedōfe	y<a u<u
2577. Inges lāfe,	þæt sīo ecg gewāc	i<i e<a
2712. þe him sē eorðdraca	ǣr geworhte,	eo<ë ǣ<ai
2828. ac hine īrenna	ecga fornāmon,	ī<ī e<a
2908. eorl ofer ōðrum	unlifgendum,	eo<ë ō<an u<u
2951. eorl Ongenþīō	ufor oncirde ;	eo<ë o<a u<u
3015. ǣled þeccan,	nalles eorl wegan	ǣ<ai eo<ë

III.

(*a*) The following lines show identical vowels in all members, when traced back :

3.‡hū ðā æþelingas	ellen fremedon.	æ<a e<a
12.‡ðǣm eafera wæs	æfter cenned	ea<a æ<a
15.‡þæt hīe ǣr drugon	aldorlēaste	ǣ<ai a<a
22. þæt hine on ylde	eft gewunigen	y<a e<a
56.‡aldor of earde,—	oþ þæt him eft onwōc	a<a ea<a e<a
70. þonne yldo bearn	ǣfre gefrugnon,	y<a ǣ<ai
77.‡ǣdre mid yldum,	þæt hit wearð ealgearo,	ǣ<ā y<a ea<a
84. þæt sē ecghete	āþumswēorum	e<a ā<ai
100. ēadiglīce,	oð ðæt ān ongan	ēa<au ā<ai
135. ac ymb āne niht	eft gefremede	ā<ai e<a
159.‡ac sē āglǣca	ēhtende wæs,	ā<ai ē<an
241.‡endesæta,	ǣgwearde hēold,	e<a æ<ā
256.‡ānfealdne geþōht :	ofost is sēlest	ā<ai o<a (or o)
258. him sē yldesta	ondswarode,	y<a o<a
283. oððe ā syþðan	earfoðþrāge,	ā<ai ea<a
296. ārum healdan,	oþ þæt eft byreð	ā<ai e<a
336. ār ond ombiht.	Ne seah ic elþēodge	ā<ai o<a e<a
340. him þā ellenrōf	andswarode	e<a a<a
354. ond þē þā ondsware	ǣdre gecÿðan,	o<a æ<ā
375. āngan dohtor :	is his eafora nū	ā<ai ea<a
392.‡aldor Ēast—Dena	þæt hē ēower æþelu can	a<a ēa<au æ<a

433.‡hæbb ic ēac geāhsod,	þæ sē āglǣca	ēa<au ā<ai ǣ<ai
472. ealde mādmas:	hē mē āþas swōr.—	ea<a ā<ai
510.‡aldrum nēþdon?	Ne inc ænig mon,	a<a ǣ<ai
538.‡aldrum nēðdon,	ond þæt geæfndon swā.	a<a æ<a
566.‡be ýðlāfe	ūppe lǣgon,	ý<un ū<ū
592.‡atol āglǣca	ealdre þīnum,	a<a ǣ<ai ea<a
605. ofer ylda bearn	ōþres dōgres,	y<a ō<an
620.‡ymbēode þā	ides Helminga	e<ijo i<i
646.‡ǣfenræste.	Wiste þǣm āhlǣcan	ǣ<ā ā<ai
661. gif þū þæt ellenweorc	aldre gedīgest.	e<a a<a
680. aldre benēotan,	þēah ic eal mæge.	a<a ea<a
692.‡eft eardlufan	æfre gesēcan,	e<a ea<a ǣ<ai
699. ðurh ānes cræft	ealle ofercōmon,	ā<ai ea<a
705. ealle būton ānum.	Þæt wæs yldum cūþ,	ea<a ā<ai y<a
718.‡nǣfre hē on aldordagum	ǣr nē siþðan	a<a ǣ<ai
739. nō þæt sē āglǣca	yldan þōhte,	ā<ai y<a
757.‡swylce hē on ealderdagum	ǣr gemētte.	ea<a ǣ<ai
779.‡þæt hit ā mid gemete	ænig manna,	ā<ai ǣ<ai
784.‡atelic egsa	ānra gehwylcum,	a<a e<a ā<ai
805. ecga gehwylcre.	Scolde his aldorgedāl	e<a a<a
816.‡atol āglǣca,	him on eaxle wearð	a<a ǣ<ai ea<a
822. þæt his aldres wæs	ende gegongen,	a<a e<a
830. swylce oncýþðe	ealle gebētte,	o<a ea<a
881. ēam his nefan,	swā hīe ā wǣron	ēa<au ā<ai
888.‡æþelinges bearn	āna genēðde	æ<a ā<ai
893.‡hæfde āglǣca	elne gegongen,	ǣ<ai e<a
900. ellendǣdum;	hē þæs āron ðāh,	e<a ā<ai
906.‡eallum æþelingum	tō aldorceare.	ea<a æ<a a<a
941.‡ðē wē ealle	ǣr ne meahton	ea<a ǣ<ai
972.‡earm ond eaxle;	nō þǣr ænge swā þēah	ea<a ea<a ǣ<ai
1000.‡ealles ansund,	þā sē āglǣca	ea<a a<a ā<ai
1029. in ealobence	ōðrum gesellan.	ea<a ō<an
1053. yrfelāfe,	ond þone ænne heht	y<a æ<ai
1086. þæt hīe him ōðer flet	eal gerýmdon,	ō<an ea<a
1099.‡ārum hēolde,	þæt ðǣr ænig mon	ā<ai æ<ai
1110. æt þǣm āde wæs	ēþgesýne	ā<ai ē<au
1182.‡ārum healdan,	gyf þū ǣr þonne hē,	ā<ai ǣ<ai
1225.‡æþeling, ēadig!	Ic þē an tela	æ<a ēa<au a<a
1244. ofer æþelinge	ýþgesēne,	æ<a ý<au
1262. tō ecgbanan	āngan brēþer,	e<a ā<ai
1269.‡þǣr him āglǣca	ætgrǣpe wearð;	ā<ai æ<a
1287. ecgum dyhtig	andweard scireð.	e<a a<a
1294.‡hraðe hēo æþelinga	ānne hæfde	æ<a ā<ai

1314.‡hwæþer him alwalda	æfre wille	a<a æ<ai
1332.‡atol æse wlanc	eftsīðas tēah,	a<a æ<ā e<a
1338. ealdres scyldig,	ond nū ōþer cwōm	ea<a ō<an
1349. ellorgæstas :	ðǣra ōðer wæs,	e<a ō<an
1373.‡þonon ȳðgeblond	ūp āstīgeð	ȳ<un ū<ū
1377.‡eft æt þē ānum.	Eard gīt ne const,	e<a ā<ai ea<a
1381.‡ealdgestrēonum,	swā ic ǣr dyde,	ea<a æ<ai
1386.‡ūre æghwylc sceal	ende gebīdan	æ<ai[1] e<a
1458. þæt wæs ān foran	ealdgestrēona.	ā<ai ea<a
1464.‡þæt hit ellenweorc	æfnan scolde.	e<a æ<a
1466.‡eafoþes cræftig,	þæt hē ǣr gespræc	ea<a æ<ai
1471. ellenmǣrðum.	Þǣm ōðrum swā,	e<a ō<an
1502.‡atolan clommum;	nō þȳ ǣr in gescōd	a<a æ<ai
1524. aldre sceþðan,	ac sēo ecg geswāc	a<a e<a
1529.‡eft wæs anræd,	nalas elnes læt,	e<a a<a e<a
1547.‡āngan eaferan.	Him on eaxle læg,	ā<ai ea<a ea<a
1556. ȳðelīce,	syþðan hē eft āstōd.	ȳ<au e<a
1587.‡aldorlēasne,	swā him ǣr gescōd	a<a æ<ai
1596.‡þæt hī þæs æþelinges	eft ne wēndon,	æ<a e<a
1636.‡earfoðlīce	heora æghwæþrum,	ea<a æ<ai
1657.‡earfoðlīce	ætrihte wæs	ea<a æ<a
1679.‡enta ærgeweorc;	hit on ǣht gehwearf	e<a æ<ai æ<ai
1710. eaforum Ecgwelan,	Ār-Scyldingum;	ea<a e<a ā<ai
1714. eaxlgesteallan,	oþþæt hē āna hwearf,	ea<a ā<ai
1762. āne hwīle :	eft sōna bið,	ā<ai e<a
1763.‡þæt þec ādl oððe ecg	eafoþes getwǣfeð,	ā<ai e<a ea<a
1766. oððe atol yldo,	oððe ēagna bearhtm	a<a y<a ēa<au
1772.‡æscum ond ecgum,	þæt ic mē ænigne	æ<a e<a æ<ai
1779. ēcan dryhtne,	þæs ðe ic on aldre gebād,	ē<aju a<a
1787.‡þā wæs eft swā ǣr	ellenrōfum,	e<a æ<ai e<a
1796. sē for andrysnum	ealle beweotede	a<a ea<a
1804.‡wǣron æþelingas	eft tō lēodum	æ<a e<a
1935. þæt hīe an dæges	ēagum starede;	a<a ēa<au
1945. ealodrincende	ōðer sǣdan,	ea<a ō<an
2002.‡hwylc orleghwīl	uncer Grendles	o<u u<u
2005. yrmðe tō aldre;	ic ðæt eall gewræc,	y<a a<a ea<a
2042.‡eald æscwiga,	sē ðe eall geman	ea<a æ<a ea<a
2061. ealdres scyldig;	him sē ōðer þonan	ea<a ō<an
2117. ōðer tō yldum.	þā wæs eft hraðe	ō<an y<a e<a
2122.‡ellenlīce :	þǣr wæs Æschere,	e<a æ<a
2149.‡ēstum geȳwan.	Gēn is eall æt ðē	e<an ȳ<au ea<a

1. For rhythm cf. Sievers (*P.B.B.*, 10).

2157.‡þæt ic his ǣrest ðē	ēst gesægde :	ǣ<ai ē<an
2165.‡æppelfealwe :	hē him ēst getēah	æ<a ē<an
2237.‡ærran mælum,	ond sē ān ðā gēn	ǣ<ai ā<ai
2280. ēacen-cræftig,	oð ðæt hyne ān ābealh	ēa<au ā<ai
2303.‡earfoðlīce,'	oð ðæt ǣfen cwōm ;	ea<a ǣ<ā
2314.‡eldum on andan :	nō ðǣr āht cwices	ea<a a<a ā<ai
2342.‡æþeling ærgōd	ende gebīdan,	æ<a ǣ<ai e<a
2349.‡eafoð ond ellen,	forðon hē ǣr fela	ea<e e<a ǣ<ai
2361. hæfde him on earme	āna xxx	ea<a ā<ai
2368.‡earm ānhaga	eft tō lēodum,	ea<a ā<ai e<a
2378. ēstum mid āre,	oð ðæt hē yldra wearð,	ē<an ā<ai y<a
2387. ond him eft gewāt	Ongenðīos bearn	e<a o<a
2399. ellenweorca,	oð ðone ānne dæg,	e<a ā<ai
2451. eaforan ellorsīð :	ōðres ne gȳmeð	ea<a e<a ō<an
2453. yrfeweardas,	þonne sē ān hafað	y<a ā<ai
2461. ān æfter ānum :	þūhte him eall tō rūm,	ā<ai ā<ai ea<a
2475. oððe him Onegnðēos	eaferan wǣran	o<a ea<a
2481. þēah ðe ōðer his	ealdre gebohte,	ō<an ea<a
2506.‡æþeling on elne.	Næs ecg bona,	æ<a e<a e<a
2520. wið ðæs āglǣcan	elles meahte	ā<ai e<a
2534. þæt hē wið āglǣcan	eofoðo dǣle,	ā<ai eo<a
2541. ānes mannes :	ne bið swylc earges sīð.	ā<ai ea<a
2590.‡elles hwergen,	swā sceal ǣghwylc mon,	e<a ǣ<ai
2592. þæt ðā āglǣcan hȳ	eft gemētton.	ā<ai e<a
2599. ealdre burgan.	hiora in ānum wēoll	ea<a ā<ai
2606.‡gemunde ðā ðā āre,	þe hē him ǣr forgeaf,	ā<ai ǣ<ai
2643. þis ellenweorc	āna āðōhte	e<a ā<ai
2654.‡eft tō earde,	nemne wē ǣror mægen	e<a ea<a ǣ<ai
2657. þæt nǣron ealdgewyrht,	þæt hē āna scyle	ea<a ā<ai
2667.‡æþeling anhȳdig,	ealle mægne	æ<a a<a ea<a
2731.‡ǣnig yrfeweard	æfter wurde,	ǣ<ai y<a æ<a
2747. bīo nū on ofste,	þæt ic ǣrwelan	o<a (or o) ǣ<ai
2763.‡eald ond ōmig	earm bēaga fela,	ea<a ō<ā ea<a
2772.‡onsȳn ǣnig,	ac hyne ecg fornam.	o<a ǣ<ai e<a
2774. eald enta geweorc	ānne mannan,	ea<a e<a ā<ai
2787.‡ellensīocne,	ðær hē hine ǣr forlēt.	e<a ǣ<ai
2796. ēcum dryhtne,	þe ic hēr on starie,	ē<aju o<a
2844.‡hæfde ǣghwæðer	ende gefēred	ǣ<ai e<a
2876.‡āna mid ecge,	þā him wæs elnes þearf.	ā<ai e<a e<a
2905.‡on ðām āglǣcan	ǣnge þinga	ā<ai ǣ<ai
2911.‡orleghwīle,	syððan underne	o<u u<u
2920. ealdor dugoðe ;	ūs wæs ā syððan	ea<a ā<ai
2924. þǣtte Ongenðīo	ealdre besnyðede	o<a ea<a
2926. þā for onmēdlan	ǣrest gesōhton	o<a ǣ<ai

2929. eald ond egesfull	ondslÿht āgeaf,	ea<a e<a o<a
2938. earmre teohhe	ondlonge niht :	ea<a o<a
2961. þǣr wearð Ongenðīow	ecgum sweorda,	o<a e<a
2972. ealdum ceorle	ondslÿht giofan,	ea<a o<a
3003.‡ealdorlēasne	þone ðe ǣr gehēold	ea<a ǣ<ai
3026.‡earne secgan,	hū him æt ǣte spēow,	ea<a ǣ<ā
3035.‡ǣrran mǣlum :	þā wæs endedæg	ǣ<ai e<a
3075.‡āgendes ēst	ǣr gescēawod.	ā<ai ē<an ǣ<ai
3170.‡æþelinga bearn	ealre twelfe,	æ<a ea<a

(*b*) The following lines show vowels identical in two members, including the the Hauptstab, when traced back :

9. oð þæt him ǣghwylc	ymbsittendra	o<u ǣ<ai y<u
46.‡ǣnne ofer ȳðe	umborwesende :	ǣ<ai ȳ<un u<u
263.‡æþele ordfruma	Ecgþēow hāten ;	æ<a o<o e<a
287. ombeht unforht :	Ǣghwæþres sceal	o<a u<u ǣ<ai
369.‡eorla geæhtlan,	hūru sē aldor dēah,	eo<ë æ<a a<a
534. earfeþo on ȳþum,	ðonne ǣnig ōþer man.	ea<a ȳ<un ō<an
848. atol ȳða geswing,	eal gemenged	a<a ȳ<un ea<a
987.‡egl, unhēoru :	ǣghwylc gecwæð,	e<a u<u ǣ<ai
989.‡īren ærgōd,	þe ðæs āhlǣcan	ī<ī ǣ<ai ā<ai
1002. aldres orwēna.	Nō þæt ȳðe byð	a<a o<u ȳ<au
1097. elne unflitme	āðum benemde,	e<a u<u ā<ai
1187.‡umborwesendum ǣr	ārna gefremedon.	u<u ǣ<ai ā<ai
1228. hēr is ǣghwylc eorl	ōþrum getrȳwe,	ǣ<ai eo<ë ō<an
1254.‡unriht æfnde,	oþ þæt ende becwōm,	u<a æ<a e<a
1259.‡ides, āglǣcwīf,	yrmþe gemunde,	i<i ā<ai y<a
1300. ac wæs ōþer in	ǣr geteohhod	ō<an i<i ǣ<ai
1351.‡idese onlic ;	ōðer earmsceapen	i<i o<a ea<a
1459. ecg wæs īren,	ātrtēarum fāh,	e<a ī<ī ā<ai
1493. efste mid elne,	nalas ondsware	e<o e<a (or o) o<a
1575. yrre ond anrǣd.	Næs sēo ecg fracod	y<i a<a e<a
1676.‡aldrbealu eorlum,	swā þū ǣr dydest.	a<a eo<ë ǣ<ai
1815. æþeling tō ȳppan,	þǣr sē ōþer wæs ;	æ<a ȳ<ū ō<an
1841. eorl æðelum gōd	him on ondsware :	eo<ë æ<a o<a
1848.‡ādl oþðe īren	ealdor ðīnne,	ā<ai ī<ī ea<a
1865.‡ǣghwæs untǣle	ealde wīsan.	ǣ<ai u<u ea<a
1874. ealdum infrōdum,	ōþres swīðor,	ea<a i<i ō<an
1885.‡oft geæhted :	þæt wæs ān cyning,	o<o æ<a ā<ai
1886. ǣghwæs orleahtre,	oþ þæt hine yldo benam	ǣ<ai o<u y<a
1941.‡idese tō efnan,	þēah ðe hīo ǣnlicu sȳ,	i<i e<a ǣ<ai
2198. eard, ēðelriht,	ōðrum swīðor,	ea<a ē<ō ō<an
2210. eald, ēþelweard—	oð ðæt ān ongan	ea<a ē<ō ā<ai

2297.‡eal ūtanweard :	ne ðær ænig mon	ea<a ū<ū æ<ai
2415. eald under eorðan :	wæs þæt ỹðe cēap	ea<a eo<ë ỹ<au
2443.‡æþeling unwrecen	ealdres linnan.	æ<a u<u ea<a
2449.‡eald ond infrōd	ænge gefremman.	ea<a i<i æ<ai
2557.‡oruð āglæċan	ūt of stāne,	o<u ā<ai ū<ū
2564.‡ecgum unslāw :	æghwæðrum wæs	e<a u<u æ<ai
2586.‡īren ærgōd.	Næs þæt ēðe sīð,	ī<ī æ<ai ē<au
2616. ealdsweord etonisc,	þæt him Onela forgeaf,	ea<a e<ë o<a
2624.‡æghwæs unrīm,	þā hē of ealdre gewāt,	æ<ai u<u ea<a
2670. atol inwitgæst	ōðre sīðe,	a<a i<i ō<an
2676. elne geēode,	þā his āgen wæs	e<a ēo<ijo ā<ai
2715.‡āttr on innan.	Đā sē æðeling gīong,	ā<ai i<i æ<a
2739. āða on unriht.	Ic ðæs ealles mæg,	ā<ai u<u ea<a
2783. ār wæs on ofste	eftsīðes georn	ā<ai o<a (or o) e<a
2957. eald under eorðweall,	þā wæs ōht boden	ea<a eo<ë ō<an
3007. eorlscipe efnde.	Nu is ofst betōst	eo<ë e<a o<a (or o)
3019.‡oft, nalles æne,	elland tredan,	o<o æ<ai e<a
3101. uton nu efstan	ōðre sīðe	u<ua e<a (or o) ō<an
3168.‡eldum swā unnyt,	swā hit ærror wæs.	e<a u<u æ<ai

IV.

The remaining lines are :

33. īsig ond ūtfus,	æþelinges fær ;	ī<ī ū<ū æ<a
111. þanon untỹdras	ealle onwōcon,	u<u ea<a
112. eotenas ond ylfe	ond orcnēas,	eo<ë y<a o<o
118. fand þā ðær inne	æþelinga gedriht	i<i æ<a
126. ðā wæs on ūhtan	mid ærdæge	ū<un æ<ai
130. æþeling ærgōd	unblīðe sæt,	æ<a æ<ai u<u
165. atol ängenga	oft gefremede,	a<a ā<ai o<o
198. æþele ond ēacen.	Hēt him ỹðlidan	æ<a ēa<au ỹ<un
224. eorfeðes æt ende.	Þanon ūp hraðe	eo<a e<a ū<ū
228. þæs þe him ỹþlāde	ēðe wurdon.	ỹ<un ē<au
276. ēaweð þurh egsan	uncūðne nīð,	ēa<au e<a u<u
303. on ancre fæst.	Eoforlīc scionon	a<a eo<ë
317. mid ārstafum	ēowic gehealde	ā<ai ēo<eu
330. æscholt ufangræg :	wæs sē īrenþrēat	æ<a u<u ī<ī
332. ōretmecgas	æfter æþelum frægn :	ō<u æ<a
346. aldre þīnum	gif hē ūs geunnan wile	a<a u<u
363. þone yldestan	ōretmecgas	y<a ō<u
382. for ārstafum	ūs onsende,	ā<ai ū<un
410. on mīnre ēþeltyrf	undyrne cūð :	ē<ō u<u

413.	īdel ond unnyt,	siððan æfenlēoht	ī<ī u<u æ<ā
428.	eodor Scyldinga,	ānre bēne :	eo<ë ā<ai
431.	þæt ic mōte āne	[ond] mīnra eorla gedryht,	ā<ai eo<ë
449.	eteð ängenga	unmurnlīce,	e<ë ā<ai u<u
458.	ond for ārstafum	ūsic sōhtest.	ā<ai ū<un
464.	ofer ȳða gewealc	Ār-Scyldinga :	ȳ<un ā<ai
481.	ofer ealowæge	ōretmecgas,	ea<a ō<u
499.	Unferð maþelode,	Ecglāfes bearn,	u<u e<a
556.	þæt ic āglæcan	orde geræhte,	ā<ai o<o
602.	eafoð ond ellen	ungēara nū,	ea<a e<a u<u
634.	þæt ic ānunga	ēowra lēoda	ā<ai ēo<eu
663.	eodur Scyldinga	ūt of healle :	eo<ë ū<ū
668.	ymb aldor Dena,	eotonweard ābēad.	a<a eo<ë
671.	ðā hē him of dyde	īsernbyrnan,	o<a ī<ī
673.	īrenna cyst	ombihtþegne,	ī<ī o<a
689.	eorles andwlitan,	ond hine ymb monig	eo<ë o<a y<u
744.	unlyfgendes	eal gefeormod,	u<u ea<a
759.	æfensprǣce,	ūplang āstōd	æ<ā ū<ū
769.	eorlum ealuscerwen.	Yrre wæron bēgen,	eo<ë ea<a y<i
831.	inwidsorge,	þe hīe ær drugon	i<i æ<ai
859.	ofer eormengrund	ōþer nænig	eo<ë ō<an
876.	ellendædum,	uncūþes fela,	e<a u<u
907.	swylce oft bemearn	ærran mælum	o<o æ<ai
932.	ðæt wæs ungēara,	þæt ic ænges mē	u<u æ<ai
1037.	in under eoderas;	þāra on ānum stōd	i<i eo<ë ā<ai
1044.	eodor Ingwina	onweald getēah,	eo<ë i<i o<a
1041.	efnan wolde :	næfre on ōre læg	e<a ō<ō
1072.	eotena trēowe :	unsynngum wearð	eo<ë u<u
1088.	wið eotena bearn	āgan mōston,	eo<ë ā<ai
1101.	ne þurh inwitsearo	æfre gemænden,	i<i æ<ai
1107.	āð wæs geæfned	ond ītge gold	ā<ai æ<a ī<ī
1133.	īsgebinde,	oþ ðæt ōþer cōm	ī<ī ō<an
1165.	æghwylc ōðrum trȳwe.	Swylce þær Unferþ þyle	æ<ai[1] u<u
1208.	eorclanstānas	ofer ȳða ful,	eo<ë ȳ<un
1252.	æfenræste,	swā him ful oft gelamp,	æ<ā o<o
1308.	syðþan hē aldorþegn	unlyfgendne,	a<a u<u
1326.	eaxlgestealla,	ðonne wē on orlege	ea<a o<u
1371.	aldor on ōfre,	ær hē in wille,	a<a ō<ō or u (Kluge) i<i
1389.	unlifgendum	æfter sēlest.	u<u æ<a
1410.	enge ānpaðas,	uncūð gelād,	e<a ā<ai u<u

1. This line is rhythmically defective, cf. Sievers (*P.B.B.* 10).

1434. ỹðgewinnes,	þæt him on aldre stōd	ỹ<un a<a
1437. hræþe wearð on ỹðum	mid eofersprēotum	ỹ<un eo<ë
1447. eorres inwitfeng	aldre gesceþðan;	eo<i i<i a<a
1469. under ỹða gewin	aldre genēþan,	ỹ<un a<a
1488. ond þū Unferð lǣt	ealde lāfe,	u<u ea<a
1500. ælwihta eard	ufan cunnode.	æ<a ea<a u<u[1]
1532. yrre ōretta,	þæt hit on eorðan læg,	y<i ō<u eo<ë
1565. aldres orwēna,	yrringa slōh,	a<a o<u y<i
1579. oftor micle	ðonne on ænne sīð,	o<o æ<ai
1593. þæt wæs ỹðgeblond	eal gemenged,	ỹ<un ea<a
1620. wæron ỹðgeblond	eal gefælsod,	ỹ<un ea<a
1663. ealdsweord ēácen,	— oft wīsode	ea<a ēa<au o<o
1688. ealde lāfe,	on ðæm wæs ōr writen	ea<a ō<ō
1697. īrenna cyst	ǣrest wǣre,	ī<ī æ<ai
1734. for his unsnyttrum	ende geþencan;	u<u e<a
1760. ēce rædas;	oferhỹda ne gỹm,	ē<aju o<o[1]
1822. gif ic þonne on eorþan	ōwihte mæg	eo<ë ō<ai
1827. þæt þec ymbsittend	egsan þỹwað,	y<u e<a
1858. inwitnīþas,	þe hīe ǣr drugon;	i<i æ<ai
1918. oncrbendum fæst,	þỹ lǣs hym ỹþa ðrym	o<a ỹ<un
1920. hēt þā ūp beran	æþelinga gestrēon,	ū<ū æ<a
1947. inwitnīða,	syððan ǣrest wearð	i<i æ<ai
1949. æðelum dīore,	syððan hīō Offan flet	æ<a o<o
1957. eormencynnes;	forðan Offa wæs	eo<ë o<o
2007. ænig ofer eorðan	ūhthlem þone,	æ<ai eo<ë ū<un
2074. eatol æfengrom	ūser nēosan,	ea<a æ<ā ū<un
2081. nō ðỹ ær ūt ðā gēn	īdelhende	ū<ū ī<ī
2087. sīo wæs orðoncum	eall gegyrwed,	o<u ea<a
2089. hē mec þǣr on innan	unsynnigne,	i<i u<u
2115. swā wē þǣr inne	ondlangne dæg	i<i o<a
2140. ēacum ecgum,	unsōfte þonan	ēa<au e<a u<u
2167. nealles inwitnet	ōðrum þregdon	i<i ō<an
2200. eft þæt geīode	ufaran dōgrum	īo<ijo u<u
2225. ærnes þearfa,	ond ðær inne fealh,	æ<a i<i
2260. ān æfter eallum,	unblīðe wēop	ā<ai ea<a u<u
2291. swā mæg unfǣge	ēaðe gedīgan	u<u ēa<au
2392. uferan dōgrum,	Ēadgilse wearð,	u<u ēā<au
2410. tō ðæs ðe hē eorðsele	ānne wisse,	eo<ë ā<ai
2427. orleghwīla :	ic þæt eall gemon.	o<u ea<a
2478. eatolne inwitscear	oft gefremedon.	ea<a i<i o<o
2486. þǣr Ongenþēow	Eofores nīsde :	o<a eo<ë
2500. þæt mec ær ond sīð	oft gelæste,	æ<ai o<o
2515. of eorðsele	ūt gesēceð !	eo<ë ū<ū

1. Cf. p. 35.

2532. uncer twēga !	Nis þæt ēower sīð,	u<u ēo<eu
2548. unbyrnende	ænge hwīle	u<u æ<ai
2597. æðelinga bearn	ymb gestōdon	æ<a y<u
2734. ymbsittendra	ænig ðāra,	y<u æ<ai
2813. þu eart endelāf	ūsses cynnes,	e<a ū<un
2834. ansȳn ȳwde :	ac hē eorðan gefēoll	a<a y<au eo<ë
2839. þæt hē wið āttrsceaðan	oreðe gerǣsde,	ā<ai o<u
2855. ne meahte hē on eorðan,	ðēah hē ūðe wēl,	eo<ë ū<un
2866. ēoredgeatwe,	þe gē þǣr on standað,	ēo<ë o<a
2867. þonne hē on ealubence	oft gesealde	ea<a o<o
2888. īdel hweorfan,	syððan æðelingas	ī<ī æ<a
2917. elne geēoden	mid ofermægne,	e<a ēo<ijo o<o[1]
2964. Eofores ānne dōm :	hyne yrringa	eo<ë ā<ai y<i
2986. nam on Ongenðīo	īrenbyrnan,	o<a ī<ī
2993. Iofore ond Wulfe	mid ofermāðmum,	io<ë o<o[1]
2997. ond ðā Iofore forgeaf	āngan dohtor,	io<ë ā<ai
3077. oft sceal eorl monig	ānes willan	eo<ë ā<ai
3090. inn under eorðweall.	Ic on ofste gefeng	i<i eo<ë o<o (or a)
3106. ǣdre geæfned,	þonne wē ūt cymen,	ǣ<ā æ<a ū<ū
3116. þone ðe oft gebād	īsernscūre,	o<o ī<ī
3125. ǣledlēoman,	sē ðe on orde gēong.—	ǣ<ai o<o
3127. syððan orwearde	ǣnigne dǣl	o<u ǣ<ai
3138. ād on eorðan	unwāclicne,	ā<ai eo<ë u<u

Summing up these results, it appears that there are with complete, approximate or historical identity in all members (A) : —

I a	80
II a	105
III a	158
	343
Of these there have been included under two heads	55
Total ...	288 = 56·9% of 506 lines.

For two alliterating members, including the Hauptstab, the figures are (B) : —

I b	42
II b	57
III b	50

1. Cf. p. 35.

	149	
Included under two heads	25	
	124	
Already counted under A	31	
Total ...	93	= 18·3% of 506 lines.

Adding (A) and (B) together, 288 + 93 = 381
or 75·2% of 506 lines.

Number of lines with different vowels (IV) = 125
or 24·7% of 506 lines.

The above figures show the interpretation most favourable to the hypothesis developed in the preceding pages, *i.e.*, they take no account of those lines which are identical or approximately identical in the text, but which become different when traced. These latter represent, however, actual identity, and thus show that the poet did not avoid such identity. If we reject such lines, we arrive at the following figures:—

Total of A above ...	288	
Lines in I c and II c...	54	
Total		234
Total of B above ...	124	
Lines in Ic and IIc...	24	
Total		100
Together		334
Subtracting lines counted under A and B		31
Total		303 = 59·8% of 506 lines.

HÊLIAND.

According to the text of Heyne.

I.

(*a*) The following lines show text-identical vowels in all members:

86. that sie erbi-ward	êgan ni môstun,	e<a ê<ai
121. "andward for them alo-waldan,	ne sî that he me an is ârundi	a<a a<a â<ai[1]
142. "aftar an aldre?	It is unk al te lat,"	a<a a<a a<a
149. "that wit erbi-ward	êgan môstin,"	e<a ê<ai
151. "haƀad unk eldî bino-man	ellean dâdi,"	e<a e<a
267. "êgan mid eldiun.	Nêo endi ni kumid,	ê<ai e<a e<a
282. aftar them ârundie	al gihworƀan	a<a ā<ai a<a
408.*"erðun endi himiles,	endi oƀar eldeô barn,"	e<ë e<a
464. aldan at them alaha,	aðal-boranan,	a<a a<a a<a
478. ald mid is armun,	al antkenda,	a<a a<a a<a
580.*"erbi-wardôs,	endi is erlun thô	e<a e<ë
586.*"gio te êwan-daga,	erðun endi himiles;"	ê<ai e<ë
632.*thea thâr an eli-lendi	erlôs wârun	e<a e<ë
638. hêt that sie irô ârundi	al undarfundin	â<ai a<a
718. ôstar an irô ôðil	endi fôrun im ôðran weg;	ô<au ô<ô ô<an
784. an was imu anst godes,	he was allun liof	a<a a<a a<a
923. "bist thu ênig therô	the her êr wâri"	ê<ai ê<ai
1068. ni mugun eldi-barn, quað he,	ênfaldes brôdes,	e<a ê<ai
1118. ambaht-skepi	aftar lêstian,	a<a a<a
1196. aðal and-bâri.	Forlêt al saman	a<a a<a a<a
1223. armoro mannô filu	was im âtes tharf,	a<a â<ā

(*b*) The following lines show text-identical vowels in two members (including the Hauptstab):

31. aðal ord-frumo	alomahtig.	a<a o<o a<a
46.‡aldar endôn (skoldi).	Ên was irô thuo noh than	a<a e<a ê<ai
144.*"hwanda wit habdun aldres êr	efno twêntig"	a<a ê<ai e<ë
194.‡idis an ira eldiu,	skolda im erbi-ward,	i<i e<a e<a
297. thea idis ant-hêtia,	aðal-knôsles wîf,	i<i a<a a<a
304.‡ôdan arƀides.	Ni welda sie aftar thiu	ô<au a<a a<a

1. <*ārundi, according to Sievers, *Ags. Gr.* §100, a. 4. The O.S. word is probably a loan-word from O.E.

488.‡allun eli-thiodun,	thea êr thes alo-waldon	a<a e<a e<a
508.‡erles anthêti,	eðili thiorna,	e<ë a<a e<a
557. "erlôs fon ôðrun thiodun.	Ik gisihu that gi sind eðilgiburdiun"	e<ë ō<an e<a
559.*"êri fon ôðrun thiodun,	sîðor ik môsta thesas erlô folkes"	ē<ai ô<an e<ë
795.‡erlôs an them alaha,	sô it an irô êwa gibôd,	e<ë a<a ê<ai
1027.*was im thâr an thero ênôdi	erlô drohtin	ê<ai ô<au[1] e<ë
1105.‡alles thes ôd-welon,	thes ik thi hebbin giôgit hir!	a<a ô<au ô<au
1125.*ênôdies ard	endi sôhta im eft erlô gimang,	ê<ai a<a e<ë
1324.‡aftar te êwan dage,	sô is gio endi ni kumit,	a<a ê<ai e<a

(*c*) Of the above lines (*a* and *b*) the following show vowels neither identical nor approximately identical when traced back:

144. "hwanda wit habdun aldres êr	efno twêntig"	a<a ê<ai e<ë
408. "erðun endi himiles,	endi oƀar eldeô barn,	e<ë e<a
559. "êri fon ôðrun thiodun,	sîðor ik môsta thesas erlô folkes"	ê<ai ô<an e<ë
580. "erƀi-wardôs,	endi is erlun thô	e<a e<ë
586. "gio te êwan-daga,	erðun endi himiles;	ê<ai e<ë
632. thea thâr an eli-lendi	erlôs wârun	e<a e<ë
1027. was im thâr anthero ênôdi	erlô drohtin	ê<ai ô<au e<ë[1]
1125. ênôdies ard	endi sôhta im eft erlô gimang,	ê<ai ô<au[1] e<ë

II.

(*a*) The following lines show text-vowels approximately identical in all members:

194.‡idis an ira eldiu,	skolda im erƀi-ward,	i<i e<a e<a
1076.*unhiuri fîund	ôðru sîðu,	u<u ô<an

(*b*) The following lines show text-vowels approximately in two members (including the Hauptstab):

79.‡was iru gialdrôd idis.	Ni muosta im erƀi-ward	a<a i<i e<a
166."fon thînero aldero idis	erl afôdit,	a<a i<i e<ë
564.‡"ûsa ârundi	ôðo gitellian,"	û<un â<ai ô<au

1. ênôdi has been regarded as two words, according to Kauffmann, *P.B.B. 12*.

823.‡"idis arm-hugdig,	êskôn skolda	i<i a<a ê<ai
1082. alles oban-wardan	uppan gisetta	a<a o<o[1] u<u

(*c*) Of the above lines the following show neither identical nor approximately identical vowels, when traced back :

1076. unhiuri fîund	ôðru sîðu,	u<u ô<an

III.

(*a*) The following lines show identical vowels in all members, when traced back :

40. endi thuo al bifieng	mid ênu wordu,	a<a ê<ai
38. al sô hie it fan them anginne	thuru is ênes kraft,	a<a[2] ê<ai
46.‡aldar endôn (skoldi).	Ên was irô thuo noh than	a<a e<a ê<ai
155. "sind unka andbâri	ôðarlikaron,"	a<a[2] ō<an
162. sô ala-jungan,	sô he fon êrist was,	a<a ê<ai
204. that undar sô aldun twêm	ôdan wurði	a<a ô<au
222. "ne hêt êr giowiht sô," quað he,	adal-boranes	ê<ai a<a
284. te sulîkun ambaht-skepi,	sô he mi êgan wili ;	a<a ê<ai
294. that sie habda giôkana	thes alo-waldan kraft.	ô<au a<a
304.‡ôdan arbides.	ni welda sie aftar thiu	ô<au a<a a<a
362. an êr-dagun,	aðal-kuninges,	ê<ai a<a
476. al-mahtigon gode,	this he ina mid is ôgun gisah ;	a<a ô<au
488.‡"allun eli-thiodun,	thea êr thes alo-waldon	a<a e<a a<a
571. "ûsa aldiro ôstar hinan.	Thar ni warð sîðor ênig man	a<a ô<au ê<ai
589. "sô quað he, that ôstana	ên skoldi skînan	ô<au ê<ai
594. hwan êr sie gesâwin	ôstana up sîðôian	ê<ai ô<au
634. hwan sie an ôstar-wegun	êrist gisâhin	ô<au ê<ai
724. ôðran githenkian ;	"nu ik is aldar kan,"	ô<an a<a
739. irô êgan barn	armun bifengi,	ê<ai a<a
801. eft an ôðrun daga	aðal-kunnies wîf,	ô<an a<a
839. thurh is ôdmôdi	aldron sînun ;	ê<au a<a
861. bûton that he thâr ên-koro	alo-waldon gode,	ê<ai a<a

1. Cf. p. 35.
2. Rhythm according to Kauffmann, *P.B.B. 12*.

1105.‡alles thes ôd-welon,	thes ik thi hebbiu giôgit hir!	a<a ô<au ô<au
1110. up te them alo-mahtigon gode	endi ênum im	a<a ê<ai
1142. sô hir alde man	êr hwanna sprâkun,	a<a ê<ai
1184. irô aldan fader	ênna forlêtun,	a<a ê<ai
1193. was im ambahteo	eðilero mannô,	a<a e<a
1302. arme thurh ôd-môdi,	thêm is that êwiga rîki	a<a ô<au ê<ai
1324.‡aftar te êwan dage,	sô is gio endi ni kumit,	a<a ê<ai e<a
1329. eſðo he skal te êwandaga	aftar tharbôn	ê<ai a<a
1346. "hwand gi her êr biforan	arbid tholôdun	ê<ai a<a

(b) The following lines show vowels identical in two members, including the Hauptstab, when traced back:

79.‡was iru gialdrôd idis.	Ni muosta im erbi-ward	a<a i<i e<a
124. fon thînera alderu idis	ôdan skoldi	a<a i<i ô<au
194.‡idis an ira eldiu,	skolda im erbi-ward,	i<i e<a e<a
261. "idis enstiô ful!	thu skalt for allun wesan	i<i a<a a<a
508.‡erles anthêti	eðili thiorna,	e<ë a<a e<a
529. "thiu idis an them alaha,	al sô it im an iro êwa gibôd	i<i a<a ê<ai
564.‡"ûsa arundi	ôðo gitellian,"	û<un â<ai ô<au
566.‡"fon ôstan thesaro erðu.	Giu wâron thâr aðalies man,	ô<au e<ë a<a
795.‡erlôs an them alaha,	sô it an irô êwa gibôd,	e<ë a<a ê<ai
823.‡"idis arm-hugdig,	êskôn skolda	i<i a<a ê<ai
942."ênig obar erðu,	ne nu aftar ni skal	ê<ai e<ë a<a
1356. "ubil arbêdsam,	than sie is thana endi skulun	u<u a<a e<a

IV.

The remaining lines are:

181. ût fon them alaha;	erlôs thrungun	û<û a<a e<ë
308. sô hwilêk so thâr an unreht	idis gihîwida,	u<u i<i
345. hiet man that allo thea eli-lendiun man	irô ôðil sôhtin,	e<a ô<ô
376. thurh hwilîk ôdmôdi	he thit erð-rîki herod	ô<au e<ë
388. thea thâr ehu-skalkôs	ûta wârun,	e<ë û<û
441. an them ahtodon daga,	erlôs managa,	a<a e<ë
493. the aldo man an them alaha	idis thero gôdun,	a<a a<a i<i

553.	hwilîk sie ârundi	ûta gibrâhti,	â<ai û<û
591.	"undar twisk erða endi himil	ôðar hwergin,	e<ë ô<an
609.	that he thâr oƀar-hôbdion	êgan skoldi,	o<o[1] ê<ai
683.	that sie im thanan ôðran weg,	erlôs fôrin,	ô<an e<ë
736.	armlîkara dôð.	Idisi wiopun,	a<a i<i
758.	an erðôno betstun,	thâr ên aha fliutid,	e<ë a<a
775.	erl oƀar-modig."	Al ant-kenda	ē<ë o<o[1] a<a
903.	"up te them alo-mahtigon gode."	Erlôs managa	a<a e<ë
918.	thea thâr an them ârundie,	erlôs wârun,	â<ai e<ë
947.	up-ôdes hêm,	êwigrîki,	u<u ê<ai
998.	ên alo-waldand	thesas willeo ik urkundeo.	ê<ai a<a u<u
1034.	an them anginnea,	irmin-thioda	a<a i<i
1097.	lêt al oƀar-sehan	irmin-thioda	o<o ô<o[1] i<i
1099.	endi al sulîk ôdes,	sô thius erða bihabad	a<a ô<au e<ë
1240.	aftar irô ên-dagon	up gibrâhti	ê<ai[2] u<u
1298.	hwilîk wârin allaro.	irmin-manno	a<a i<i
1326.	for them erlon thâr	ahto gitalda	e<ë a<a
1331.	erðlîƀi-giskapu	endi sôkit im ôðar lioht	e<ë ô<an
1379.	"wirðid allun than	irmin-thiodun,	a<a i<i

Proceeding in the same way as with the *Bēowulf* figures, we obtain:—

A	I a	21
	II a	2
	III a	31
		54
Counted twice		0
		54 or 54% of 100 lines.
B	I b	15
	II b	5
	III b	12

1. Cf. p. 35.
2. According to Kauffmann *P.B.B. 12.*

	32	
Counted twice	6	
	26	
Counted in A and B	6	
	20	or 20% of 100 lines.

Adding A & B (54 + 20) we get 74 or 74% of 100 lines.
Lines under IV = 26 or 26% of 100 lines.

Subtracting lines under I c and II c we get:

A, as above	54	
I c and II c	5	
	49	or 49% of 100 lines.
B, as above	20	
I c and II c	4	
	16	or 16% of 100 lines.

Adding A & B (49 + 16) we get 65 or 65% of 100 lines.

OLD NORSE.

According to the text of Hildebrand-Gering.

Vǫlundarkviþa.

N.B.—In the *Vǫlundarkviþa* there are 23 lines with vowel alliteration, excluding those which are repeated entire (*i.e.*) 1.2; 7.3; 17.2; 21.2;37.3.

I.

(*a*) The following lines show text-identical vowels in all members:

3.3. ein nam þeira	Egil at verja,	ei<ai e<a
12.4. ár brann hrísi	allþurru fúrr,	á<ai a<a

(*b*) The following lines show text identical vowels in two members (including the Hauptstab):

5.2.‡en enn átta	allan þróþu,	e<a[1] á<a a<a
6.4. gengu út ok inn	ok umb sǫusk.	ú<ū i<i u<u
13.4. alvítr unga,	væri aptr komin.	a<a u<ju a<a
35.1.‡eiþa skalt áþr	alla vinna	ei<ai á<ai? a<a
35.7. eþa jóþ eigim	innan hallar.	jo<eu ei<ai i<i

II.

(*a*) The following lines show text-vowels approximately identical in all members:

10.2.*gengu inn þaþan	endlangan sal;	i<i e<a
17.2.*hón inn of gekk	endlangan sal,	i<i e<a

(*b*) The following lines show text-vowels approximately identical in two members (including the Hauptstab):

7.1.‡Austr skreiþ Egill	at Olrúnu,	au<au e<a ǫ<a
7.3. en einn Vǫlundr	sat í Ulfdǫlum.	ei<ai v<u̯ u<wu
15.5. óra aura	í Ulfdǫlum?	ó<un au<au u<wu
25.3.*en ór augum	jarknasteina,	e<a au<au ja<ë
29.4.*allra nema eins	íviþgjarnri.	a<a ei<ai í<in
43.3.‡eina ǫgurstund,	æva skyldi!	ei<ai ǫ<a æ<ai

Line 7.3 shows consonant alliteration when traced back and line 15.5 no alliteration at all.

1. en<*anþi, as Noreen informs me privately.

(*c*) Of the above lines, the following show neither identical vowels nor approximately identical when traced :

10.2. gengu inn þaþan	endlangan sal;	i<i e<a
17.2. hón inn of gekk	endlangan sal,	i<i e<a
25.3. en ór augum	jarknasteina,	e<a au<au ja<ë
29.4. allra nema eins	ívþgjarnri.	a<a ei<ai <í<in

III.

(*a*) The following lines show identical vowels in all members when traced back :

5.2.‡en enn átta	allan þroþu,	e<a á<a a<a
7.1.‡Austr skreiþ Egill	at Olrúnu,	au<au e<a o<a
13.2. alfa ljóþi,	eins saknaþi;	a<a ei<ai
22.1. komiþ einir tveir,	komiþ annars dags!	ei<ai a<a
35.1.‡eiþa skalt áþr	alla vinna	ei<ai á<ai? a<a
43.3.‡eina ǫgurstund,	æva skyldi!	ei<ai ǫ<a æ<ai

(*b*) The following lines show vowels identical in two members (including the Hauptstab) when traced back :

11.2. fyr einn útan,	es þeir af létu;	ei<ai ú<ū a<a
21.2. opin vas illúþ	es í sǫu;	o<u i<i í<in

IV.

The remaining lines are :

1.2. alvítr ungar,	ϕrlǫg drýgja;	a<a u<ju ϕ<u
18.1. Ámun eru augu	ormi frána,	á<a au<au o<wo <wu
38.4. eingadóttir	ykkur beggja.	ei<ai y<in
40.2. en ókátr Níþǫþr	sat þá eptir	ó<un e<a

Vϕ'lundarkviþa.

Proceeding in the same way as with the *Bēowulf* figures, we obtain:—

A	I a	2
	II a	2
	III a	6
		10 or 43·4% of 23 lines.
B	I b	5
	II b	6
	III b	2
		13
Counted in both A and B		4
		9 or 39·1% of 23 lines.
Adding A & B (10+9) we get		19 or 82·6% of 23 lines.
Lines under IV		4 or 17·4% of 23 lines.

Subtracting lines under I c and II c we get:—

A, as above	10
I c and II c	2
	8 or 34·8% of 23 lines.
B, as above	9
I c and II c	2
	7 or 30·4% of 23 lines.
Adding A & B (8+7) we get	15 or 65·2% of 23 lines.

Hyndluljóþ.

In the *Hyndluljóþ* there are 46 lines containing vowel alliteration, exclusive of lines which are repeated entire, *i.e.*, 16.5; 39.1; 47.3.

I.

(*a*) The following lines show text-identical vowels in all members:

37.4. jǫtna meyjar	viþ jarþar þrǫm.	jǫ<ë ja<ë
38.2. bar hann Eistla	ok Eyrgjafa,	ei<ai?[1] ey<au[2]

(*b*) The following lines show text-identical vowels in two members (including the Hauptstab):

12.3. Alfr vas Ulfi,	Ulfr Sæfara,	a<a u<wu u<wu
18.4. Ámr ok Jǫfurmarr,	Alfr enn gamli;	á<ā jǫ<ë a<a
21.1. Ísolfr ok Ósolfr	Ólmóþs synir	í<ī ǫ́<an ǫ<a
38.4.‡Imþr ok Atla	ok Ǐarnsaxa.	i<i? a<a ïa<ī

II.

(*a*) The following lines show text-vowels approximately identical in all members:

4.2.‡at æ viþ þik	einart láti;	æ<ai ei<ai
14.1.‡Áli vas áþr	ǫflgastr manna,	á<an á<ai? ǫ<a
30.1.‡vǫ́ru ellifu	æsir talþir,	e<ai æ<an
45.4.‡an Óþinn mun	ulfi mǫ́ta.	ó<wō u<wu
46.2. svát ǫll muni	orþ at tína,	ǫ<a o<wu
46.4.‡þás þeir Angantýr	ættir rekja.	a<a æ<ai
49.1.*ek slæ eldi	of íviþju,	e<ai í<in
51.1. orþheill þín skal	ǫ́ngu ráþa,	o<wu ǫ́<ai
51.4.‡biþk Óttari	ǫll goþ duga.	ó<an ǫ<a

1. Etymology uncertain, but *ei* must come from *ai* (Noreen, privately communicated).

2. *eyr* connected with *aurr* (Gering).

(*b*) The following lines show text-vowels approximately identical in two members (including the Hauptstab) :

8.2.‡auk of jǫfra	ættir dφma;	au<au jǫ<ë æ<ai
10.4.‡æ trúþi Óttarr	á ásynjur.	æ<ai ó<an á<an
15.4.‡ólu ok ǫ́ttu	átján sunu.	ó<ō ǫ́<ai á<a
32.2.‡jǫtna ættar	ok Aurboþu :	jǫ<ë æ<ai au<au
35.4.*jǫtnar allir	frá Ymi komnir.	jǫ<ë a<a y<u

(c) Of the above lines the following show vowels neither identical nor approximately identical when traced :

35.4. jǫtnar allir	frá Ymi komnir	jǫ<ë a<a y<u
49.1. ek slæ eldi	of íviþju,	e<ai í<in

Line 51.1 loses its alliteration when traced.

III.

(*a*) The following lines show identical vowels in all members when traced back :

4.2.‡at æ viþ þik	einart láti;	æ<ai ei<ai
10.4.‡æ trúþi Óttarr	á ásynjur.	æ<ai ó<an á<an
14.1.‡Áli vas áþr	ǫflgastr manna,	á<an á<ai? ǫ<a
15.4.‡ólu ok ǫ́ttu	átján sunu.	ó<ō ǫ́<ai á<a
16.5. allt's þat ætt þín,	Óttarr heimski!	a<a æ<ai ó<an
24.2 Arngríms synir	ok Eyfuru;	a<a ey<au?
26.3. en Eylimi	frá Oþlingum :	ey<ai? ǫ<a
30.1.‡vǫ́ru ellifu	æsir talþir,	e<ai æ<an
37.1. varþ einn borinn	í árdaga	ei<ai á<ai
40.1. varþ einn borinn	ǫllum meiri,	ei<ai ǫ<a
42.3. eitt þótti skars	allra feiknast,	ei<ai a<a
45.4.‡an Óþinn mun	ulfi mφta.	ó<wō u<wu
46.4.‡þás þeir Angantýr	ættir rekja.	a<a æ<ai
51.4.‡biþk Óttari	ǫll goþ duga.	ó<an ǫ<a

(*b*) The following lines show vowels identical in two members (including the Hauptstab) when traced back :

8.2.‡auk of jǫfra	ættir dǫ́ ma	au<au jǫ<ë ǽ<ai
9.2. Óttarr ungi	ok Angantýr :	ó<an u<ju a<a
32.2.‡jǫtna ættar	ok Aurboþu :	jǫ<ë ǽ<ai au<au
38.4.‡Imþr ok Atla	ok Ïarnsaxa.	i<i a<a ïa<ī

IV.

The remaining lines are :

4.4. þó's hǫnum ótítt	viþ jǫtuns brúþir.	ó<un jǫ<ë
5.1. nú tak ulf þinn	einn af stalli,	u<wu ei<ai
6.4. Óttar unga,	Innsteins bur.	ó<an u<ju i<i
11.2. ok upp bornar	ættir manna :	u<u ǽ<ai
12.1. þú est, Óttarr !	borinn Innsteini,	ó<an i<i
12.2. en Innsteinn vas	Alfi gamla,	i<i a<a
13.4. ǫll þótti ætt sú	meþ yfirmǫnnum.	ǫ< ǽ<ai y<u
15.1. Efldisk viþ Eymund	ǫ́ztan manna,	e<a ey<ai ǫ́ <wō
15.3. átti Almveigu,	ǫ́zta kvenna,	á<a a<a ǫ́ <wō
18.2. ólusk í ætt þar,	ǫ́ztir kappar :	ó<ō ǽ<ai ǫ́ <wō
22.2. jarnskjǫldr Þórir,	Ulfr gínandi ;	ja<i u<wu
25.2. allir bornir,	Jǫrmunreki,	a<a jǫ<ë
29.3. Auþr djúpúþga	Ívars dóttir,	au<au í<in
38.3. hann bar Ulfrún	ok Angeyja,	u<wu a<a
39.1. Sá vas aukinn	jarþar megni,	au<au ja<ë
42.1. Ól ulf Loki	viþ Angrboþu,	ó<ō u<wu a<a
47.3. hleypr, eþlvina !	úti á nǫ́ttum,	e<a ú<ū
48.1. rannt at Óþi	ey þreyjandi :	ó<wō ey<ai
49.2. svat eigi kǫ́msk	óbrend heþan ;	ei<ai ó<un

Lines 5.1 ; 15.1 ; 15.3 ; 18.2 ; 22.2 ; 38.3 ; 48.1 lose their alliteration when traced back.

Hyndluljóþ.

A	I a	2
	II a	9
	III a	14
		25
Counted twice		6
		19 or 41·3% of 46 lines.
B	I b	4
	II b	5
	III b	4
		13
Counted twice		3
		10
Counted in both A and B		2
		8 or 17% of 46 lines.
Adding A & B (19 + 8) we get		27 or 58·7% of 46 lines.
Lines under IV		19 or 41·3% of 46 lines.

Subtracting lines under I c and II c we get:—

A, as above		19
I c and II c		1
		18 or 39% of 46 lines.
B, as above		8
I c and II c		1
		7 or 15% of 46 lines.
Adding A & B (18 + 7) we get		25 or 54% of 46 lines.

Þrymskviþa.

In the *Þrymskviþa* there are 41 cases of vowel alliteration, excluding those lines which are repeated, i.e., 3.2; 26.1; 7.3; 26.2; 26.4; 20.3.

I.

(*a*) The following lines show text-identical vowels in all members :

4.5.*ok fyr innan kvam	jǫtna heima.	i<i jǫ<ë
6.1. hvat's meþ ǫ́sum,	hvat's meþ ǫlfum?	ǫ́<an ǫ<a
6.3. illt's meþ ǫ́sum,	illt's meþ ǫlfum !	i<i (ǫ́<an) i<i (ǫ<a)
9.1. hefr eyrindi	sem erfiþi ?	ey<ai? e<a
10.1. hefk erfiþi	ok eyrindi :	e<a ey<ai ?
13.2. ok ásynjur	allar á máli,	á<a (n) a<a
20.2. munk auk meþ þér	ambǫ́tt vesa,	au<au a<a
26.1. sat en alsnotra	ambǫ́tt fyrir,	a<a a<a
26.3. át vætr Freyja	átta nǫ́ttum,	á<ā á<a
29.5. ástir mínar,	alla hylli.	á<an a<a

(*b*) The following lines show text-identical vowels in two members (including the Hauptstab) :

2.1. auk þat orþa	alls fyrst of kvaþ :	au<au o<wu a<a
29.1.*inn kvam en arma	jǫtna systir,	i<i a<a jǫ<ë

(*c*) Of the above lines, the following show vowels neither identical nor approximately identical when traced back :

4.5. ok fyr innan kvam	jǫtna heima.	i<i jǫ<ë
29.1. inn kvam en arma	jǫtna systir,	i<i a<a jǫ<ë

II.

(*a*) The following lines show text-vowels approximately identical in all members :

2.3.*es engi veit	jarþar hvergi	e<ai ja<ë
6.2.*hví'st einn kominn	í jǫtunheima?	ei<ai jǫ<ë
12.5. ef ekk† meþ þér	í jǫtunheima.	e<a jǫ<ë
13.1.‡senn vǫru ǽsir	allir á þingi	ǽ<an a<a
16.2.‡mik munn ǽsir	argan kalla,	ǽ<an a<a

(*b*) The following lines show text-vowels approximately identical in two members (including the Hauptstab) :

24.2.‡auk fyr jǫtna	ǫl fram borit ;	au<au jǫ<ë ǫ<a
31.4.‡ok ætt jǫtuns	alla lamþi.	ǽ<ai jǫ<ë a<a

† ekk = ek ek (<aka).

(c) Of the above lines, the following show vowels neither identical nor approximately identical when traced back :

2.3. es engi veit	jarþar hvergi	e<ai ja<ë
6.2. hví'st einn kominn	í jǫtunheima?	ei<ai jǫ<ë

III.

(a) The following lines show identical vowels in all members, when traced back :

7.3. hann engi maþr	aptr of heimtir,	e<ai a<a
13.1.‡senn vǫru æsir	allir á þingi	æ<an a<a
16.2.‡mik munn æsir	argan kalla,	æ<an a<a
23.4. einnar Freyja	ávant þykkjumk.	ei<ai á<an
27.3. hví 'ru ǫndótt	augu Freyju?	ǫ<a au<au
27.4. þykkjumk ór augum	eldr of brinna.	au<au e<ai
29.4. ef ϕ́ þlask vill	ástir mínar,	ϕ́<a á<an

(b) The following lines show vowels identical in two members (including the Hauptstab) when traced back :

24.2.‡auk fyr jǫtna	ǫl fram borit ;	au<au jǫ<ë ǫ<a
24.3. einn át oxa,	átta laxa,	ei<ai o<o á<a
31.4.‡ok ætt jǫtuns	alla lamþi.	æ<ai jǫ<ë a<a

IV.

The remaining lines are :

1.4. réþ Jarþar burr	umb at þreifask.	ja<ë u<u
2.4. né upphimins :	óss's stolinn hamri !	u<u ó<an
4.4. unz fyr útan kvam	ása garþa	ú<ū á<an
7.2. átta rǫstum	fyr jǫrþ neþan ;	á<a jǫ<ë
8.2. unz fyr útan kvam	jǫtna heima	ú<ū jǫ<ë
8.3. ok fyr innan kvam	ása garþa ;	i<i á<an
11.4. vit skulum aka tvau	í jǫtunheima.	a<a jǫ<ë
12.2. allr ása salr	undir bifþisk,	a<a á<an u<u
17.3. þegar munu jǫtnar	Ásgarþ bua,	jǫ<ë á<an
21.4. ók Óþins sunr	í jǫtunheima.	ó<wō jǫ<ë
23.2. ϕxn alsvartir,	jǫtni at gamni :	ϕ<o a<a jǫ<ë
26.2. es orþ of fann	viþ jǫtuns máli :	o<wu jǫ<ë
26.4. svá vas óþfús	í jǫtunheima.	ó<wō jǫ<ë
27.2. en útan stǫkk	endlangan sal :	ú<ū e<a
32.1. drap ena ǫldnu	jǫtna systur	ǫ<a jǫ<ë
32.5. sva kvam Óþins sunr	endr at hamri.	ó<wō e<a

Þrymskviþa.

A	I a	10	
	II a	5	
	III a	7	
		22	
	Counted twice	2	
		20	or 48·7% of 41 lines.
B	I b	2	
	II b	2	
	III b	3	
		7	
	Counted twice	2	
		5	
	Counted in both A and B	0	
		5	or 12% of 41 lines.
	Adding A & B (20 + 5) we get	25	or 61% of 41 lines.
	Lines under IV	16	or 39% of 41 lines.

Subtracting lines under I c and II c we get: —

A, as above	20	
I c and II c	3	
	17	or 41% of 41 lines.
B, as above	5	
I c and II c	1	
	4	or 9·7% of 41 lines.
Adding A & B (17 + 4) we get	21	or 51% of 41 lines.

Hymiskviþa.

In the *Hymiskviþa* there are 34 cases of vowel alliteration.

I.

(a) The following lines show text-identical vowels in all members :

12.4. en afr í tvau	áss brotnaþi.	a<a á<an
32.2. fϕ'rþisk allra	í ásmegin :	a<a á<an

(b) The following lines show text-identical vowels in two members (including the Hauptstab).

3.4. þanns ǫllum yþr	ǫl of heitak.	ǫ<a y<i ǫ<a
23.1.‡egndi á ǫngul	sás ǫldum bergr	e<a ǫ<a ǫ<a
23.2.*orms einbani	oxa hǫfþi :	o<wo<wu ei<ai o<o

(c) Of the above lines the following shows vowels neither identical nor approximately identical when traced :

23.2. orms einbani	oxa hǫfþi :	o<wo<wu ei<ai o<o

II.

(a) The following lines show text-vowels approximately identical in all members :

8.3.‡en ǫnnur gekk	algollin fram	ǫ<a a<a
16.3.‡munum at apni	ǫþrum verþa	a<a ǫ<a

(b) The following lines show text-vowels approximately identical in two members (including the Hauptstab) :

3.1. ǫnn fekk jǫtni	orþbæginn halr,	ǫ<a jǫ<ë o<wu
9.1. áttniþr jǫtna !	ek viljak ykkr	á<ai jǫ<ë y<i
18.4.‡ǫgn af oxa	auþfeng vesa.	ǫ<a o<o au<au
22.2.*einn á ǫngli	upp senn tvaa ;	ei<ai ǫ<a u<u
24.2.*orm eitrfaan	upp at borþi ;	o<wo ei<ai u<u
24.4. ofljótt ofan	ulfs hnitbróþur.	o<u[1] o<u u<wu
28.3.‡einn meþ ǫrum	ok austskotu	ei<ai ǫ<ai au<au
33.4.‡aptr ævagi :	þu'st, ǫlþr ! of heitt.	a<a æ<ai ǫ<a
34.2.*út ór óru	ǫlkjól hofi.	ú<ū ó<un ǫ<a
40.4.‡ǫlþr at Ægis	eitrhǫrmeiti	ǫ<a æ<ā[2] ei<ai

1. P.G. u remains as such in oldest Old Norse, cf. p. 35.
2. <*ēʒjaR<ægir (Noreen, privately communicated).

(c) Of the above lines the following show neither identical nor approximately identical vowels, when traced back :

22.2. einn á o̧ngli	upp senn tvaa ;	ei<ai o̧<a u<u
24.2. orm eitr̥faan	upp at borþi ;	o<wu ei<ai u<u
34.2. út ór óru	o̧lkjól hofi.	ú<ū ó<un o̧<a

Lines 3.1 ; 24.4, lose their vocalic alliteration when traced.

III.

(a) The following lines show identical vowels in all members, when traced :

4.4. ástráþ mikit	einum sagþi :	á<an ei<ai
7.2. Ásgarþi frá,	unz til Egils kvǫ́mu ;	á<an e<a
8.3.‡en o̧nnur gekk	algollin fram	o̧<a a<a
13.1. stukku átta	en einn af þeim	á<a ei<ai
16.3.‡munum at apni	o̧þrum verþa	a<a o̧<an
23.1.‡egndi á o̧ngul	sas o̧ldum bergr	e<a o̧<a o̧<a
26.3. svát at ór Hymir	etki mælti,	ǫ́<ai e<ai
28.3.‡einn meþ ǫ́rum	ok austskotu	ei<ai ǫ́<ai au<au
31.2. ástráþ mikit	eitt es vissi :	á<an ei<ai
33.4.‡aptr ævagi :	þu'st, o̧lþr ! of heitt.	a<a ǽ<ai o̧<a
40.4.‡o̧lþr at Ægis	eitrho̧rmeiti.	o̧<a æ<ā ei<ai

(b) The following lines show vowels identical in two members (including the Hauptstab) when traced back :

18.4.‡ogn af oxa	auþfeng vesa.	o<a o<o au<au
36.2. aptr Oþins sunr	einu sinni :	a<a ó<wō ei<ai

IV.

The remaining lines are :

1.4. fundu at Ægis	ϕrkost hverjan.	æ<ā ϕ<u
2.3. leit í augu	Yggs barn í þró	au<au y<u
5.1. bý́r fyr austan	Élivága	au<au é<ji[1]
15.4. einn meþ o̧llu	yxn tvá Hymis.	ei<ai o̧<a y<u[2]
19.2. þars uxi stóþ	alsvartr fyrir :	u<o[2] a<a
21.2. áttrunn apa	útar fϕ́ra ;	á<ai a<a ú<u
22.3. en aptr í skut	Oþ́ni sifjaþr	a<a ó<wō
23.4. umbgjo̧rþ neþan	allra landa.	u<u a<a
26.2. óteitr jo̧tunn,	es aptr rϕ́ru :	ó<un jo̧<ë a<a
28.2. vatt meþ austri	upp lo̧gfáki ;	au<au u<u
29.1. ok enn jo̧tunn	of afrendi	e<ë jo̧<ë a<a

1. Cf. Noreen, § 106.3, <*jihla.
2. Cf. Noreen, *Altisl. Gr.* § 154.2.

Hymiskviþa.

	I a	2	
A.	II a	2	
	III a	11	
		15	
	counted twice	2	
		13	or 38% of 34 lines.
	I b	3	
B.	II b	10	
	III b	2	
		15	
	counted twice	1	
		14	
	counted under A & B	4	
		10	or 29% of 34 lines.
Adding A & B (13+10) we get		23	or 67·8% of 34 lines.
Lines in IV.		11	or 32 % of 34 lines.

Subtracting lines under I c, II c, we get:—

A as above	13	
I c and II c	0	
	13	or 38% of 34 lines.
B as above	10	
I c and II c	4	
	6	or 18% of 34 lines.
Adding A & B (13+6) we get	19	or 56% of 34 lines.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
Bēowulf	80 16%	105 20%	158 31%	55	288 56·9%	42	57	50	56	93 18·3%	381 75·2%	125 24·7%	78	303 59·8%	3182	506 15%	Bēowulf
Hêliand	21 21%	2 2%	31 31%	—	54 54%	15	5	12	12	20 20%	74 74%	26 26%	9	65 65%	1379	100 7·2%	Hêliand
Vǫlundarkviþa	2 8·7%	2 8·7%	6 26%	—	10 43·4%	5	6	2	4	9 39·1%	19 82·6%	4 17·4%	4	15 65·2%	161	23 14%	Vǫlundarkviþa
Hyndluljóþ	2 4%	9 20%	14 30%	6	19 41·3%	4	5	4	5	8 17%	27 58 7%	19 41·3%	2	25 54%	193	46 24%	Hyndluljóþ
Þrymskviþa	10 24%	5 12%	7 17%	2	20 48·7%	2	2	3	2	5 12%	25 61%	16 39%	4	21 51%	129	41 32%	Þrymskviþa
Hymiskviþa	2 6%	2 6%	11 32%	2	13 38%	3	10	2	5	10 29%	23 67·8%	11 32%	4	19 56%	152	34 22%	Hymiskviþa

Identical or approximately

Identical or approximately identical

1 Text identical. Ia.

2 Text approx. identical. IIa.

3 Historically identical. IIIa.

4 Counted under 2 heads.

5 Total 1+2+3−4.

6 Text identical. Ib.

7 Text approx. identical. IIb.

8 Historically identical. IIIb

9 Counted under 2 heads.

10 Total 6+7+8−9.

11 Total 5+10.

12 Neither text nor historically identical. IV.

13 Text identical, but historically different, Ic, IIc.

14 Total 11—13.

15 Number of lines examined.

16 Number with vowel alliteration.

From a survey of the above table it appears that, under the most favourable interpretation of the material, the percentage of lines with originally identical or approximately identical vowels is in every case above 58, and reaches 82·6 in the *Vǫlundarkvipa*, 74 in the *Hêliand*, and 75·2 in *Bēowulf*. If, however, the possibility of restorations and substitutions referred to in the introduction be rejected, then the percentages fall to 51 in the lowest case and 65 in the highest. If, again, the view that one of the alliterating words is accidental be also rejected, then the lowest percentage is 38, and the highest 57.

It must also be borne in mind that the historical material of *Bēowulf*, the *Hêliand* and the *Edda* is later than the sound changes under consideration, and that the statistical tables, therefore, represent only an experiment made to show how the alliterative scheme would appear when traced to Primitive Germanic. But, on the other hand, the occurrence of numerous stereotyped lines in the various Germanic languages would appear to point to a long traditional history, and possibly to common Germanic origin, and hence one is justified in making the experiment.

Whether or not the statistical evidence here collected substantiates the theory of identical vowels, it may still be of interest to enquire whether it sheds any light on the glottal-catch theory and on the sonority theory. Assuming for the moment that no substitutions in the sense already given were made, and that where there are three stressed words with initial vowel in a line all three participate in the alliteration, then for *Bēowulf* the percentage is 56·9. This high percentage would seem to dispose of the view that different vowels were preferred in alliteration, for the figure is too high to be the result of accident. It would appear rather to show a tendency to the alliteration of only identical vowels. If, on the other hand, for the sake of discussion, we assume our hypothetical development of metrical technique to be correct,

it will be of interest to enquire if it accounts satisfactorily for the divergent results in the different languages examined; whether it can be applied not to one language only, but also to all of them, considered from a broader point of view. It was held in the development of the hypothesis that one of the forces tending to break down the rule of identical vowels was the rarity in some languages of words with the same initial vowel. Hence languages with a poor stock of such words would avoid vowel alliteration. Hence in O. Saxon, where this difficulty is, as already indicated on pp. 24, 25, most acute, vowel alliteration is rarest (7·2 per cent.); and in O. Norse, where the difficulty is less acute, vowel alliteration is commonest (24 per cent, 22 per cent, 32 per cent). The *Vǫlundarkviþa* is exceptional among the *Edda* with 14 per cent. It follows again from the hypothesis that those languages in which initial vowels are least subject to change will be least subject to one of the forces tending to a disruption of the original system. In this respect Old Saxon vowels are very constant, and the *Hêliand* shows the high percentage of 74. Finally, those monuments which are the oldest should show the highest percentage of identical vowels, and this is the case, for *Bēowulf* has 75·2 per cent., *Hêliand* 74 per cent., and the *Vǫlundarkviþa* 82·6 per cent. From the statistical table it also appears that the *Hêliand* has the largest percentage of text identical vowels (21 per cent.). *Bēowulf* has 16 per cent., and the average for the *Edda* is 11 per cent., though the *Þrymskviþa* has the high percentage of 24. If one includes approximately identical vowels, *Bēowulf* then shows the highest percentage of 36 as against 23 per cent. in the *Hêliand*.

VITA.

Ich, Ernest Classen, wurde am 9ten Februar 1881 zu Manchester geboren. Ich besuchte die Hulme Grammar School, Manchester, vom Jahre 1891 bis 1895. Das Jahr 1896 verbrachte ich in Deutschland, und von 1897 bis 1901 war ich in einem Geschäftshause in Manchester. Ich besuchte die Universität Manchester von 1901 bis 1904 und hörte die Vorlesungen über germanische und romanische Philologie der Herren Professoren Herford, Johannson, Kastner und Toller. Ich erwarb durch Ablegung der Prüfungen den Grad des Bachelor und Master of Arts. Im Jahre 1906 wurde ich zum Lektor für englische Sprache in Upsala, und im Jahre 1908 in derselben Eigenschaft in Würzburg ernannt, wo ich die Vorlesungen der Herren Professoren Brenner, Förster und Jiriczek hörte. Seit April 1910 bin ich als Assistant Lecturer für deutsche Sprache an der Universität Manchester angestellt. Die mündliche Prüfung fand am 23. Juli 1912 statt.

INDEX

Agio, 39.
Askr, 39.
Alliteration, cross, 42.
—— for the eye, 42.
—— in the Hêliand. Meyer, Ch. A., 17, 18.
—— —— Meyer, R. M., 18.
—— in Middle and Modern English, 41.
—— in non-Germanic languages, 41.
—— of proper names, 39.
—— of vowel with consonant, 16.
—— of double consonants, 18.
—— sp-, st-, sk-, 18.

Bēowulf, 17, 22, 23, 29, 31, 32, 35, 39, 42, 85, 86.
—— double vowel alliteration in, 25.

Cædmon's Hymn, 41.
Celtic alliteration, of vowel and consonant; of initial vowels, 18.
consonne d'appuie, 18.

Þrymskvipa, 86.

Edda, 17, 22, 31, 35, 85, 86.
Embla, 39.
Erminones, 5, 39.

genealogies, Bēowulf, 39.
—— West Saxon, 39, 40.
Gering, 20.
glottal catch, 7, 13.
—— —— in Dutch, 13.
—— —— in English, 13.
—— —— in German, 13.
—— —— in Hebrew and Arabic, 15.
—— —— in Old Germanic languages, 13, 14.
—— —— in Swedish, 13.
—— —— absence of symbol for, 14.
—— —— existence of, 19.

glottal catch, theory, 3, 6, 7, 13.
—— —— Sievers on, 3, 7, 13, 14.

h. Old Saxon, alliteration with vowels, 16.
Hêliand, 17, 21, 22, 24, 29, 31, 32, 35, 85, 86.
(H)erminones, 5, 39.
Hildebrand, 7.
Hirst, 43.
Huemer, 44.
Hymiskviþa, 31.
Hyndluljóp, 31.

Ibor, 39.
Identical vowels, theory of, 21, 29.
—— —— Kock's theory, 21, 23.
Ingvaeones, 5, 39.
Initial vowel, poverty of Old Germanic in words with, 24.
Istvaeones, 5, 39.
j, 16, 17.

Kalevala, 43.

Lawrence, 10.
Loch, 44.

rime and alliteration, 17.
rime riche, 18.
runic inscriptions, alliteration in, 39.
—— —— Northumbrian, 41.

sonority theory, 4, 7, 19.
—— —— criticism of, 19, 20, 21.
—— of vowels, 7.
spiritus asper, 16.
—— *lenis*, 2, 3, 16.
Statistical summary, 84.
Stereotyped phrases, 23, 30.
—— —— cause of, 24.

un-, prevalence of, 42.

v-. Old Norse, 20.
—— —— Gering's view of, 30.
" voice," 7.

Vǫlundarkviþa, 31, 85, 86.
Vowel alliteration, 1, 42.
—— —— inadmissibility of different vowels, 6, 7.
—— —— of identical vowels, causes of decay, 24, 25, 26.
—— —— stages of decay, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31.
—— —— technical difficulties of, 25.
—— —— in Aldhelm, 44.
—— —— in Bēowulf, 46–64.
—— —— in Celtic, 43.
—— —— in Finnish and Tartar, 43.
—— —— in Hêliand, 65–70.
—— —— in Hymiskviþa, 81–83.
—— —— in Hyndluljób, 74–77.
—— —— in Latin, 44.
—— —— in Þrymskviþa, 78–80.
—— —— in Runic Inscriptions, 39.
—— —— in Vólundarkviþa, 71–73.
—— —— theory of, Jespersen, 9.
—— —— —— Jiriczek, 3, 19.
—— —— —— Kock, 8, 10, 17.
—— —— —— Rapp, 3, 6.
—— —— views on, R. Hildebrand, 5, 17, 18, 19.
—— —— —— Johannson, 2.
—— —— —— Kaluza, 2.
—— —— —— Kauffmann, 6, 7.
—— —— —— Lawrence, 41.
—— —— —— R. M. Meyer, 4.
—— —— —— Saran, 6.
—— —— —— Sievers, 3, 7.
w. Old Norse, 16, 17.
—— —— —— Anglo-Saxon, alliteration with vowel, 16.